

FIGHTING MERCHANTMEN (TALES FROM HAKLUYT)

BY

Commander R. B. BODILLY, R.N.



With 10 Maps.

HEATH CRANTON Ltd. 6 Fleet Lane London E.C. 4

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Commander R. B. BODILLY, R.N.

10s. 6d. net. Postage 9d. extra.

Extract from Preface:—

"I TENDER a sincere apology to all lovers of fine English for having dared to tamper with Hakluyt's splendid original. My excuse is that, in these post-war days of hard work, few people have the time or energy to read through many volumes of beautiful Elizabethan English. It is not easy reading to modern eyes. The words and sentences do not flash to the brain as is the case with modern phrases. Hence those who would enjoy the original, when they see facing them a long row of volumes filled with difficult reading, are inclined to shirk the labour of perusing them. Then the cost of a complete set of Hakluyt is heavy; often too heavy for war-depleted purses. This must debar many who, could they afford such a luxury, would purchase and find therein a mine of literary richness.

"It seemed, therefore, that a selection of the more interesting tales, well filled with verbatim extracts from the original, might induce some to turn to Hakluyt himself in order to read at length what is here put before them in brief, and might give some slight pleasure to others who lack the time or opportunity for regular reading.

"When reading of the old voyages it is of importance to remember that the large majority of them were undertaken for the purpose of Trade. The seamen were merchant seamen, the ships merchant ships. The fact that they were armed did not necessarily imply that they were warships. Practically every seagoing ship was armed in those days, the necessity for this precaution having been proved in centuries of hard and indiscriminate fighting with every sort of foe from the Narrow Seas to the Levant and, as voyages were extended into other parts, with old and new foes on wider battle-grounds. But they were still traders who attacked only the Queen's enemies and fought only to gain new markets for their wares.

"I believe the maps to be approximately correct. In some cases it is almost impossible to discover exactly the route that was followed, for the names are changed and the places vanished that are mentioned in the text."

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WITH MAPS

HEATH CRANTON LIMITED
6 FLEET LANE LONDON E.C.4

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PREFACE

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The work is not intended as a new critical commentary on Hakluyt, pointing out his errors as disclosed by later knowledge, and drawing attention to more recent achievements in comparison. No research has been undertaken. Such errors as Hakluyt made have been left untouched. The book is merely "Tales from Hakluyt."

With wonderful vividness and force Hakluyt describes

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to us the amazing adventures of our ancestors; the difficulties that they encountered; the skill and courage with which they overcame them; the vast extent of the unknown world into which they set out to seek they knew not what; their little ships, most of them no larger than a modern coasting ketch, in which they not only crossed the wide Atlantic, but passed the long and dangerous Straits of Magellan and across the vast Pacific to the East Indies and the China Sea; their voyages to the Arctic, no whit less wonderful than, though not so far-reaching as, those of Franklin and Nansen to the North, and Scott and Shackleton to the South; their battles with the Spaniard, the greatest sea-power of the day, when, with their short and handy ships manned by consummate seamen, they met and defeated forces vastly more powerful than themselves both in men and in weight of metal.

Some of the stories have many times been told, but usually in modern English, completely re-written by their transcribers.

Rightly or wrongly, I feel that, in some subtle manner, this kills the atmosphere necessary to the true telling of the tales. They are early tales told in an early style, and to modernize that style, however skilfully it be done, must, I submit, destroy the true felicity of the tale, as a modern colour print cannot reproduce the subtle "something" of an old master.

This I have tried to avoid by keeping the necessary comments as short as possible. Their chief object has been to connect the various extracts so as to present a coherent story to the reader and at times to summarize in a few words the position as described at length in the original account.

When reading these old voyages it is of importance to remember that the large majority of them were undertaken for the purposes of trade. The seamen were merchant

seamen, the ships merchant ships. The fact that they were armed did not necessarily imply that they were warships. Practically every seagoing ship was armed in those days, the necessity for this precaution having been proved in centuries of hard and indiscriminate fighting with every sort of foe from the Narrow Seas to the Levant and, as voyages were extended into other parts, with old and new foes on wider battle-grounds. But they were still traders who attacked only the Queen's enemies and fought only to gain new markets for their wares.

I believe the maps to be approximately correct. In some cases it is almost impossible to discover exactly the route that was followed, for the names are changed and the places vanished that are mentioned in the text.

These tales first appeared as a serial in the *Blue Peter Magazine*, and it only remains for me to acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy of the Editor thereof for permission to reproduce them in book form.

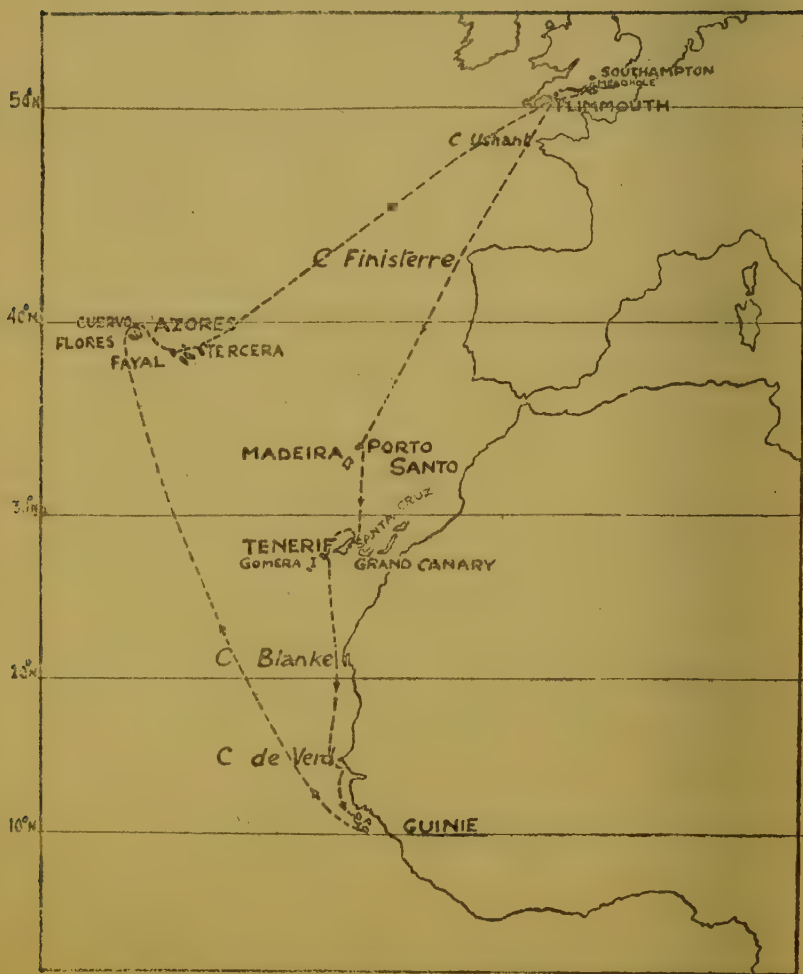
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THE VOYAGE OF MASTER GEORGE
FENNER TO GUINIE IN 1566



THE VOYAGE OF MASTER GEORGE FENNER TO GUINIE

THE VOYAGE OF MASTER GEORGE FENNER TO GUINIE IN 1566

"THE 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Ushant."

The merchant fleet consisted of three sail: the *Castle of Comfort*, the *May Flower*, and the *George*, together with a pinnace. The admiral of the fleet, Master George Fenner, whose flagship was the *Castle of Comfort*, was "a man that had beene conversant in many sea-fights." Some twelve years later he rendered most valuable service when helping to defeat the Spanish Armada. More than once in that Homeric fight he rescued the Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, from almost certain destruction. George Fenner was one of the most skilful and experienced seamen of his day.

The story of this voyage to what were then almost unknown lands is told by Walter Wren who sailed in the *George*.

In those days such trading voyages were often partly trading and partly fighting. It was quite impossible to foretell what reception English ships would get at any particular place, not only from the natives but also from the French or Portuguese or Spaniards that might be there. Interviews frequently opened with culverin shot and ended with banquetting. Hence all merchant ships carried a full armament of heavy guns besides all small arms—bows, bills and arquebuses. They were at least as much war-ships as traders; heavily manned by the finest seamen obtainable, all thoroughly trained to arms and who, during the voyage, constantly "exercised action."

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On the 15th of December the merchant fleet sighted Cape Finisterre. Off the coast of Spain that night they lost sight of the Admiral and continued along the Portuguese shore in the hope of finding him more to the Southward. Three days later they fell in with a French ship, but could get no news of him, so they laid a course for the Canaries.

On Christmas Day they reached the Island of Porto Santo, some twenty miles to the North-East of Madeira. "The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat; and fet master Edward Fenner captaine of the *May Flower* aboard us, being in the *George*, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent us." Edward Fenner was the brother of George Fenner, the Admiral.

"The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerife"—"on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses." They were a league or so from Santa Cruz and in sight of Grand Canary, which was some eighteen or twenty miles away.

At once they ran into trouble.

"The 29 day the *May Flower* for that she could not fet into ye road where we were at anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, and because she bare more roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with us, and came at last to an anker by us."

The Captain of the *May Flower* wrote to the chief officer of the town to inquire as to the cause of this attack. He sent the letter ashore in a boat manned by six men, but they could not beach her "for the sea went cruelly at the shore." They therefore lay off abreast the few houses on the bay and hailed. About thirty men collected, all armed to the teeth, and Wren, who spoke Spanish and was one of the boat's crew, hailed them in that tongue, saying that they

had a letter for the Governor and that they wished to trade. The Spaniards wanted them to land, but they refused, fearing treachery. One of the Spaniards then stripped and swam out to the boat. He took the letter, sewn up in a bladder, and swam back through the surf. After this the Spaniards showed more courtesy and again asked them to land, but they wisely returned to the ship without doing so.

On the following day the Governor's brother, with six or seven other Spaniards, came aboard the *May Flower*, and arrangements were made to trade and to exchange "pledges"—otherwise hostages. The interview was most friendly, and "our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gave them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed upon them two cheeses with other things." All ships saluted with guns, for all carried them, and the custom, as regards men-of-war, has lasted to this day.

No pledges arrived, however, and two days later the Captain of the *George* sent two men ashore, who were very well received.

"In the said Iland is a marveilous high hill called the Pike, which is far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that ever any man could goe up to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hot in January, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow."

The ships sailed round Teneriffe seeking the Admiral, and heard that he had been there a week before, but had gone to the Island of Gomera. They followed him there, and at last found him lying at anchor off the town. "In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled."

Every Governor of a town or province seemed to fight for his own hand, whether his country was at war or not, and

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would very willingly seize any ship that came within his reach if he could do so without undue risk. Such piracy was seldom punished. In many cases it was never heard of. A ship sailed and did not return. She simply disappeared. Nowadays she would be posted at Lloyds as "missing." In others, the news only arrived many years after the event, brought home by some miserable prisoner who had miraculously escaped. When, by some rare chance, the crime was promptly brought home to the criminal, there were so many ways of avoiding just punishment (by bribery or otherwise) that not one case in fifty was ever brought to trial.

At Gomera the fleet was left alone, probably because it was too strong to attack. "Our General and Marchants bought in the said towne for our provision, 14 butts of wine, which cost 15 duckats a butt, which were offred us at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats."

A few days later they all departed for "Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea."

They had no knowledge of the coast, and sounded continually while closing the land. Even then they seem to have been nearly caught, for they say, "upon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground."

For five days they worked to the Southward along the coast until they reached a bay to the Eastward of Cape Verde, where "the sayd land seemed unto us as if it had bene a great number of shippes under saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them"—"This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water."

They anchored off the cape and held a council, finally deciding to land and trade with the natives. They made the mistake of going unarmed. "And by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and divers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were civill: so that he would needs give the venter without the

consent of the rest to go without weapon." Bats paid dearly for his error.

Twenty men with several officers went ashore to where they saw a great concourse of negroes awaiting them "and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards."—"At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or upward, with their bowes and arrowes." They arranged to exchange "pledges," five Englishmen against three blacks, and the merchants laid out their goods.

Then the trouble began.

"The two Negros (which were the pledges) made themselves sicke, desiring to goe a shore" (they were in one of the boats lying off from the shore) "promising to send other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiving that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when he came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes unto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would have staid him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to cover them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarce set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is incurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison bee presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after

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they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoever it be, although but at the little toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marveilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke."

The negroes took the English hostages to the native village about a mile from the shore. On the next day the ships sent in another boat with eight men, this time well armed: "They caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell."

The negroes brought their two captives to within "a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at us with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboard, (for al that our surgeons could do) we thought he would have died."

The English tried very hard to ransom their men, but without success, for another English ship had stolen three negroes a few weeks previously and the natives wanted these men back again before they would release their hostages.

On the following day a French vessel arrived who was received by the natives with every sign of pleasure. On seeing this Captain Fenner offered the Frenchman £100 to recover his men, and "so wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed."

"Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to save his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile."

The fleet continued down the coast as far as an island called Bona Vista, where they anchored opposite some

houses and sent the pinnace ashore. All the natives fled, and they only found two miserable Portuguese who could tell them nothing and who had nothing to trade. These they presented with some shoes and then departed.

They then proceeded to another island nearby which was also peopled by Portuguese. This was a primitive penal settlement, for all the inhabitants had been banished from Portugal for various offences, and now lived on "goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they have none, saving fish, which they esteeme not, neither have they any boats to take them." This island had been given by the king to a Portuguese gentleman who rented it out at 100 ducats a year. The natives sent as many as 40,000 goat-skins a year to Portugal. "They have there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target."

They worked down the islands until the 3rd of February, when they reached the "Iland called S. Jago," where was a small roadstead and a fort by the water's edge. "There we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at us two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground."

Within an hour the Portuguese began to collect, and on the following day a large company, both horse and foot, appeared on the shore. Captain Fenner sent in to say that he wished to trade peaceably, and the Portuguese offered him every facility. He got his boats ready, "but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates." The boats went in and were met by "three-score horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen." This looked suspicious, so the boats did not land, but lay off to parley under a flag of truce. The Portuguese said that

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they were very willing to trade, and that their general was coming to speak with the admiral.

The boats returned to the ships with this answer and “ then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroad, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might.” The Portuguese asked that the Admiral might land, and promised “ to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked.”

The Englishmen returned to their ships, which saluted with their ordnance as usual, and waited for the “ gages,” etc. All the Portuguese departed except a few who were left to watch and to receive the note that the admiral was sending them. “ But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray us (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.”

“ There was to the Westwards of us and about two leagues from us, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine Caravels, or shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure Caravels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardes us: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the way close under the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.”

“ By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so that they made a sure account either to have taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villanous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other, and made such a noyse, that

(being but a small gale of winde and riding neere the lande) they might heare us from the shoare : so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse."

" They came so neere us that they were within gunshot of us, and then one of our men chanced to see a light, and then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at us all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on shoare as they in the shippes) gave a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approching neerer and neerer unto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at us freashly againe, and while they shotte this second time at us, we had made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might have shot a sheafe arrowe into them. Whereupon we having a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at us, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villianes, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not."

What they did may be guessed, for it was later in this voyage that George Fenner proved conclusively, once and for all, the amazing superiority of the English gunnery at sea over that of every other European nation.

" But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle " and proceeded some twelve leagues to another island called Fuego. This was an active volcano which had erupted some three years earlier, destroying almost the whole island.

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Here they did some trading. The inhabitants were Portuguese who were under orders from the King of Portugal not to trade with the English or French unless they were forced to do so. But the people needed goods, so they found conveniently that the force was sufficient.

At last, on the 25th of February, 1567, the fleet departed "towardses the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores."

On the 27th they anchored off a village in the Island of Cuervo, "but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused us to drawe our anker after us, we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores." They were unlucky in their weather. On the next day they again anchored in Cuervo, but again the weather got worse and they were forced to slip their cable.

"A storme arose and continued seven or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to have recovered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and never wet before, and both cable and anker were better worth then 40li. So that we accompt our selves much beholding to the honest Portugales."

They were evidently rather sore at losing a new cable and anchor, but they soon got a chance to take it out of the Portuguese, which they did thoroughly, full measure, heaped up and running over.

They hung about the islands for some time, but seemed to be unlucky with their cables. "The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and having ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast."

On their way home they put into Fayal where they anchored on the 29th "in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water."

On the 8th of May they reached Tercera "where we met with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused us to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare us any." And in doing this

they ran their heads into a hornets' nest, and put up one of the finest fights that have occurred in history.

"The next morning we might see bearing with us a great shippe and two Caravels, which we judged to be of the King of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared ourselves for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition."

These were only the first arrivals. Others soon followed to lend them assistance. This they should not have needed, for they were already far more powerful than the little English trading fleet.

"As soone as they were within shotte of us, they waved us amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at us freely and the caravell also, and we prepared our selves, and made all things cleare for our safeguard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at us all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Caravels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses ful of men, and delivered them aboard the great shippe, and so went back againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Caravell gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resolving our selves rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches."

This was the English attitude throughout. They held their enemies in so great contempt that they were ashamed to be captured by "such wretches." At the same time they did not under-rate their foes, and took every possible step to ensure the victory. It was this attitude of mind that made

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the English seamen of the Elizabethan era the most dangerous fighters at sea that the world has ever seen.

"The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Caravels more which made seven, of which 4 three of them were at the least 100 tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with us being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caravels came to lay us aboorde (as we judged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came up on our larboord side, and the Caravell in our starboord side."

This was clearly the right thing to do. With their heavy crews they should have smothered the English by sheer weight of numbers, once they could get aboard. But boarding was not so easy as it looked. As Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge* proved in after years, it needed more than mere numbers to take an English ship.

"Our Captaine and Master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossbarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Caravell came up, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at us as much ordinance as they could, thinking to have layde us presently aboord: whereupon we gave them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of us, and so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde."

"Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all asterne of us, and then went to counsell together."

They had need of counsel. All attempts to board had failed, and they dared not close the English ships again. But the English had still much hard fighting before them, and were equally in need of advice. They were heavily beset by vastly superior forces in a place where they could expect no help of any kind, and it was doubtful for how long they would be able to hold them off. If the Portuguese could summon up their courage the English would have no chance. But their courage failed them, though they were seven to three.

“Then our small barke named the George came to us, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Caravels were comming to us againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of us and so to come up againe, fell quickly upon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Caravels were come up to us, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got ahead of her, so that she could not fetch us: then 5 of the Caravels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.”

One little ship against five great caravels all crowded with men!

“Then came the great shippe and the Caravell to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordinance.”

“The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere us. So when night againe was come, they gave over their fight and followed us all that night.”

The Portuguese were bent on sinking or taking them. This was the second night that they had followed the English, though by now they had been badly mauled.

“In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indeavour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.”

The work was killing. They were engaged with the enemy all day and had to repair their gear most of the night. But they were fortunate in that the Portuguese would not board at night; this was too much for them; they had been too roughly handled when trying to do so in the daytime.

“This night the May-floure came up to us, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare half a dozen fresh men to hoysse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our

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enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde us or els to sinke us: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see us any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and boorde us if they durst, but that they would not, seeing us still so couragious: and having given us that day foure fights, at night they forsooke us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride."

"They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble."

Seven great vessels had been held at bay for four days, and had been finally routed. They well deserved their rest.

"The next day in the morning the May-floure came to us, and brought us sixe men in her boate which did us much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men."

"Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of June we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lyzard."

But they had not yet finished with the Portuguese. On the third day they sighted one and brought her to. Under the English guns her captain hoisted out his boat and reported himself on board for examination. She proved to be a ship laden with sugar and cotton, some of which the English were glad to buy, and offered a fair price. This was all in the ordinary course of business, as was fighting hard battles against heavy odds when occasion served.

The Guinie fleet had five negroes on board whom the Portuguese were very anxious to buy, and "agreed to give for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small having not above 26 loaves in a piece." This price was finally agreed but, while the Portuguese were bringing over the chests, the English saw "bearing with us a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rovers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selves readie for our defence." But the Portuguese became scared, and offered

Voyage of Master George Fenner

the Captain another ten chests of sugar to stand by them. "Whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our top-sayles for her : so at last the foresaid ship bare with us, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gave us over. And the next morning came two others bearing with us, and seeing us not about to flie a jot from them forsooke us also."

Having routed seven men-of-war, these peaceful merchant-men were not likely to fear two rovers, or twenty. But their troubles were at an end.

"The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water."

"The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to South-hampton where we made an ende of this voyage."

THE VOYAGE OF THE WORSHIPFULL
MASTER THOMAS CANDISH, BEGUN
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THE VOYAGE OF THE WORSHIPFULL MASTER THOMAS CANDISH, BEGUN IN THE YEERE 1586

THE tale is told by "Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action." He sailed in the *Hugh Gallant*.

"Wee departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of July 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which small Fleete were 123. persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, beeing our Generall."

On the whole the voyage was not a big financial success, especially when compared with Drake's famous voyage in the *Pelican*, when he gutted almost every port on the Pacific coast of America. This fleet was a trading fleet of the kind usual at that time; that is, they would trade honestly and peaceably if they could, or, failing that, they were quite prepared to force trade upon unwilling customers. An important part of their duties was to injure the Queen's enemies—the Spaniards—on every possible occasion. This was invariably the most profitable part of the voyage, and was looked upon as the chief function. A chance of doing this very soon arose.

"On tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terrae where wee mette with 5. sayles of Biskaynes comming from the Grande Bay in Newfoundland, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason the night grew on."

On the 1st of August they sighted Fuerteventura in the

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Canaries, and on the 7th they "were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coast of Barbarie." They worked down the African coast, touching at Cape Blanco and passing Cape Verde with an offing of over 100 miles.

"The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fel with the poynt on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least."

They stood in and found a good anchorage but strong tides. Two negroes came on board and told them that there was a Portuguese ship lying further up the harbour. The *Hugh Gallant* therefore went on, but could not reach the ship. She returned to report that the harbour was "of a marveilous bredth and very dangerous."

"On Sunday the 28. the Generall sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to have heard some good newes of the Portugal ship, toward their comming aboard they espied a Portugal which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with us the same night: and he tolde us it was very dangerous going up with our boates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he told us the trueth: for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him." This man's name was Emmanuel.

But the fleet was not to leave Sierra Leone without a fight.

"On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went up to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled, and in our retiring aboard in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at us out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscaryed at that time, thanked be God." The town was spotlessly clean and was walled with mud. "These Negros use good obedience to their king,

as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came first."

But the natives did not drop the matter when the English returned to their ships. They had been quite honest and friendly until attacked, and they felt that they had not been fairly treated.

"The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day: and the second day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambush round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negros rushed out upon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirugions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not have them lance his thigh." The arrow was poisoned and the man died of blood-poisoning on the following day.

With the primitive surgical methods and appliances of those times, no man can be blamed for shirking the danger and suffering of an operation. And in a case of blood-poisoning, with the use of antiseptics unknown, success must, at the best, have been very doubtful. Anæsthetics likewise were unknown, and the shock to the system often killed the unhappy patient, even though the operation in itself had been successful. At one period an amputated limb was dressed by being dipped in boiling tar.

The surroundings for an operation on board ship were alone enough to unnerve the stoutest-hearted patient. He was taken down to the dark rat- and cockroach-haunted cockpit, well below the waterline. Here the operating table was set out, lighted only by a few battle-lanterns. The operating table consisted of a plank supported on two barrels and covered by an old sail. The surgeon's instruments were in a tub of salt water beside the plank. Another tub stood near in which to wash them and to put the amputated limbs of the injured. In this awful place the patient was laid on

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the plank. He was there held down by four lusty assistants while the Chirurgeon, regardless of cries, did what he thought was necessary. If the vessel was in action and many wounded were being brought down, those who had been operated upon were packed together as closely as possible on an old sail in a corner of the cockpit. The object of this was to lessen the chances of their being again struck by a cannon ball.

On the 10th of September the fleet put to sea again and, on the last day of October, "about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it." Cape Frio is some 70 or 80 miles East of Rio de Janiero.

They passed Rio and, on the "first of November wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set up a Forge, and had our caske on shore: our coopers made hoopess, and so we remayned there untill the 23. day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnesse, and filled our fresh water."

During this time a Portuguese arrived in a canoe who was known to "Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall." This man was sent off with a letter to one John Whithal, an Englishman who had married and settled in those parts. The Portuguese had promised to return in ten days with an answer, but as he failed to appear by the 23rd of November, the fleet sailed without waiting longer. They had, by that time, taken in water, and all the ships had been careened, scraped and refitted.

On the 16th of December, in the middle of the Southern summer, the fleet "fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees $\frac{1}{3}$. the land bearing West from us about 6. leagues off."

They were down by Cape Three Points in Southern Patagonia.

"The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said harborough Port

Desire : in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion : their head, and necke and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire : their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like unto a mans hand : they breed and cast every moneth, giving their yonge milke, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish : their yong are marveilous good meate, and being boyled or rosted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton."

The seals and penguins along the coast on both sides of South America were regularly depended upon to supply ships with meat for the passage of the Straits of Magellan. This was especially the case upon the East side where there were no settlements for, once into the South Seas, the Spaniards were in their own waters and the English could raid the Spanish ports for what they wanted.

"The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowl-staves : and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him : for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebuze or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them : they have burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They have nothing but downe upon their pinions : they also fish and feede in the sea for their living, and breede on shore."

At Port Desire all the ships were beached and overhauled, their bottoms cleaned and their rigging set up afresh. They would need all their sailing powers to make Westing through the difficult Straits of Magellan against the Westerly gales of the "roaring forties." In that locality, too, with its strong tides and dangerous cross-currents, if

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anything carried away aloft, they might find themselves on the rocks before it could be refitted.

Here they searched for water and, in so doing, they fell in with the Patagonians with whom they had a slight skirmish.

“ The 24. of December being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some fortie score from our ships into a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water : for there was none in all the Harborough ; and this was but brackish : therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen : and beeing in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being divided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, beeing about fiftie or threescore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was John Garge, the boyes name was Lutch : the man was shot cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder : either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially : they seldome or never see any Christians : they are as wilde as ever was a bucke or any other wilde beast : for wee followed them, and they ranne from us as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long.”

The Patagonians were always known as big men, but one must doubt a man with a foot of 18 inches, unless the inch was then far shorter than it is now. The graves of these people were made on the tops of the cliffs. They were built of great stones coloured red, and the dead were buried with their bows and arrows and other personal possessions.

On the 28th of December the fleet put to sea and proceeded to an island some ten miles off, “ where we trimmed our saved pengwins with salt for victual all that

and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South."

"The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like unto Ediestone, which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground within a mile thereof."

They coasted along to the Southward, finding quantities of seals all along the land, and in three days' time they reached the entrance to the Straits.

"The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in divers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two severall places more narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous."

They anchored near Cape Virgins under the lee of the land. The Atlantic end of the Straits was always safer than the Pacific end. In the prevailing Westerly gales, the weather shore gave protection to vessels in the Atlantic, but in the Pacific they were on a dangerous lee-shore for hundreds of miles. Both sides were utterly unknown so far South, and were only peopled by savages from whom no assistance could be had. In fact, once clear of England, a ship had to depend entirely on her own resources and on what she could loot from the Spaniards until she reached home again. The Spaniards were not so badly placed. They had ports at intervals all the way to Panama, and could refit in many places. A few years previously they had even tried to fortify the Straits themselves, but this attempt had proved a failure.

"The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23 Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee

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passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spanyard shewed us the hull of a small Barke, which we judged to be a Barke called The John Thomas."

The reason for the presence of these twenty-four Spaniards was as follows. After Drake's great raid up the Pacific coast, the King of Spain had sent out a powerful fleet of twenty-three sail with 3,500 men to garrison the Narrows. This fleet had been extraordinarily unlucky. Only 400 men, with one Pedro Sarmiento at their head, had managed to get ashore. After suffering great privations, Sarmiento had at last given up and had run North in his only ship, marooning his men on that deadly, barren coast. He had tried to return with stores, but had been wrecked, and the 400 unfortunates had never been relieved at all. For three years they had existed as best they could, their numbers getting steadily reduced until, when Thomas Candish's fleet arrived, there were only twenty-four left alive. These were the strongest who alone had been able to survive three years of cold and wet and semi-starvation in the terrible weather of Tierra del Fuego.

The fleet ran on to another island where "wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for victuals."

"The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Ilande, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and every Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places unburyed: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contrived their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded up their Churches by themselves: they had Lawes very severe among themselves, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their company. It seemed unto us that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon muskles and lympts: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh rivers to

drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation should have passage through into the South sea saving onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could never have any thing to growe or in any wisé prosper."

Even now, 400 years later, with modern conveniences and means of communication, there are few habitations except Punta Arenas on the Straits of Magellan. The land is left to the Tierra del Fuegians and the penguins.

"And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, untill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and having no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, untill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alive were driven to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, and seeke their victuals to preserve them from sterving, taking nothing with them, but every man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so lived for the space of a yeere and more with rootes, leaves, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to have travelled towards the river of Plate, only being left alive 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred."

To try to reach the Plate was the counsel of despair. The river lay 17 degrees to the North of them—more than 1,000 miles; the country was quite unknown; it was peopled only by Patagonians; it was largely a waterless waste. But what else could they do? Ships were practically unknown in the Magellan Passage; their only neighbours were the cannibal Tierra del Fuegians who killed and ate them whenever they got the chance; their food had long since

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given out; their ammunition was almost exhausted; they must either die there or risk the tremendous journey to the North. They had very wisely decided to attempt the journey through the unknown and, in so doing, had certainly chosen the lesser of two evils.

Master Candish gave to the deserted town the very appropriate name of Port Famine. About 20 or 30 leagues farther to the West the fleet anchored in a harbour to water, and had their first meeting with the natives.

The General landed "where there was a fresh water river, where our Generall went up with the ship-boate about three myles, which river hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstrous high hilles and mountaines. In this river are great store of Savages which wee sawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniardes before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the river, of purpose to have betrayed us, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused us to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them."

After watering, the fleet proceeded again, but before they reached the Pacific they were weather-bound for a month. "We lay in Harborough untill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to have bene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether upon muskles and limpits, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode,

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in continuall raynie weather." And this was in the Magellan summer.

What the Spaniards had suffered during the past three years can scarcely be imagined. It is amazing that any were left alive at all, especially two women not accustomed to the cold of the higher latitudes. Master Pretty, the historian of the voyage, makes no mention of scurvy, but one would expect to find the Spaniards and, probably, the English suffering severely from that curse of the earlier navigators. The former had been years, and the latter months, without fresh food of any kind except meat and fish.

But at last the wind changed. "The 24. day of February wee entred into the South sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adjoyning unto it: and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of us 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly."

And thus they cleared Cape Pillar on Desolation Island. But the Southerly wind was not to last for long.

"The first of March a storme tooke us at North, which night the ships lost the company of the *Hugh Gallant*, beeing in 49. $\frac{1}{2}$ and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the *Hugh Gallant* being separated from the other 2. ships, looked every houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and our selves so dilvered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights."

The fleet reassembled under the lee of the Island of Santa Maria. The other two ships had waited for the *Hugh Gallant* at Mocha Island, but, as she did not arrive, they went on to Santa Maria, a little South of Concepcion on the Chilean coast. It was not long before they had trouble with the natives, this time through a mistake. "Some of our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marveilous warie of their Calivers. These Indians

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were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke us for Spaniards, as afterward we learned."

Lopez Vaz tells us of the difficulties encountered by the Spaniards in trying to subdue this warlike people. They resisted oppression for years, but, when properly treated, proved to be honest and friendly enough. Master Candish landed on the Island and was received by two chiefs who were subject to the Spaniards. They also believed the English to be Spaniards, and led them to a great store of wheat and barley and potatoes which the natives had made ready as tribute to their Spanish masters. "These Indians are held in such slavery by them, that they dare not eate a hen or an hogge themselves." Thus the fleet victualled from the King of Spain's tribute and still left "marveilous great store" after all the ships had been fully supplied.

"Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboard our shippe, and provided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine; and they in the ende perceiving us to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceive, that if wee would goe over unto the mayne land unto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making us signes, that we should have great store of riches. But because we could not understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished our selves."

Candish was not like Drake, who would have gone ashore into Arauco or anywhere else if he had thought that he could get treasure there. But Master Candish was unlucky throughout. He only took one ship that had any cargo worth having. This was a missed chance. Arauco was well known to be a rich place, and its riches were put at his disposal because he was an enemy of the Spaniards. That alone was enough to make him a friend of the natives and would have ensured his safety, but he was too slow in taking a risk to make a profit. This slowness dogged the whole voyage. Right up the coast the Spaniards were before him every time.

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The fleet anchored off Concepcion, but no one landed and they ran on to the Bay of Quintero. There they were seen by a herdsman who fled before he could be caught.

“Our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with bright swords towards us so hard as they might ride, until they came within some twenty or thirtie score of us, and so stayed, and would come no neerer unto us: so our Generall sent unto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken up at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterved there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone unto them: so the said Fernando the Spaniard went unto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had a great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would have. Our Generall sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte with him: and being come neere unto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe unto them alone himselfe: who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped up behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which hee had made continually to our general and all his company never to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false.”

This man had been saved from a miserable end and one would have expected common gratitude. But it was never wise to trust a Spaniard, and gratitude was unknown to them.

Candish landed an officer with some fifty or sixty men to try to discover and sack the town. They failed to find it, however, and marched all day through a most fertile land without accomplishing anything. “Having travailed so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high

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mountaines, we rested our selves at a very fayre fresh River running in and amongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the River, and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee: so wee travailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfully weake; who though they did espie us that day, yet durst they not give the on-sette upon us. For wee marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, untill we came unto our ships that night againe."

No wonder that the Spaniards could not subdue the natives of Arauco. Two hundred of them dared not attack a little English force of only quarter their number. But in spite of this, the English had failed. They were on a treasure hunting trip and had found neither town nor treasure. But the next day things became more serious.

"The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side: and being earely hard at their businesse were in no readinesse. In which meane while there came powring downe the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fiftene of us that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre."

But the Spaniards could better lose twenty-four men than the English twelve. The whole land was Spanish, and any losses could be replaced in a very short time from other garrisons in the country. The English had started out only 123. They could not replace a single man before they got home again—and home was on the other side of the world.

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A loss of men, trifling in numbers, might cripple them for the whole voyage. This action, therefore, was in truth a serious defeat for the English. They had gained nothing and had lost invaluable men. They were caught through not keeping constantly upon their guard, but even this did not teach them the lesson. They suffered again from the same cause.

After this surprise Candish placed a guard while he finished his watering, so that the Spaniards dared not attack again. The fleet then made sail and passed along the coast towards the North, revictualling from sea-birds at an island on the way. On the 15th of April they came to "Morro Moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, and is an excellent good harborough." Here they landed thirty men and met the Indians coming down to meet them carrying fresh water and wood. They also had mistaken the English for Spaniards.

"They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live marvellous savagely: For they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd upon the ground: and over them in stead of houses, is nothing but five or sixe sticks layd acrosse, which stand upon two forkes with stickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they have: for wee opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnes like unto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they have two of these bladders blowen full, which are sown together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards: but they use it marvellous beastly."

A week later they took a small ship from Arica, which they kept and named the *George*. Her crew deserted her

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and fled back to Arica at sight of the English ships. "Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, and the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinnesse could not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboard a great shippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was comming in, but missed her very narrowly with a Minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was vice-admirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes whereof, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwise if wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely have landed to take the towne, whatsoever had come of it."

The *Content* had found a wine store on the beach ready for shipment and had stopped to take what she required. When she came up, the opportunity (if it had ever existed) had passed. "By this time wee perceived that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conveyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of us."

That was the trouble throughout. Every time Candish was too late. Instead of raiding a place and proceeding at once to the next, so as to get there before the news of his presence was known, he would wait and hang about. All the while, messengers by horse and ship were racing up the coast, warning all the ports that English vessels were on the seaboard, and that they should stand upon their guard. Hence, when Candish arrived at the next port he found all the treasure buried and the garrison at quarters.

The fleet did not sail at once though Candish had decided that Arica was too dangerous to attack. "While wee rid in the road they shot at us, and our ships shot at them againe for every shot two. Moreover, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despiht of all their forts though they shot still

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at the pinnesse, which they could never hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had received speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransom any man upon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to have redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at Quintero, otherwise hee would have made them no offer of parley."

While still lying in Arica they saw a small ship standing in towards the port. Master Candish sent out his pinnace and boats to take her. The townsmen signalled warning her of her danger, so her crew ran her ashore and escaped before the English could reach her. "So wee went aboard the barke as she lay sunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboard our shippes againe the same night: and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with us, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest."

For once they were ahead of any water-borne message, for they caught the messenger on their way North. "The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere unto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to the citie of Lima with letters of adviso of us, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all sworne and received the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters over boord: which (as wee were giving them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them up, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it: but hee was faire to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at several times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleieve that hee would hang

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him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled up a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee perjured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with us."

Unlike the Spaniards, the English did not use torture for pleasure. It was only used as a means to an end, and that unwillingly. In this case the captives had important information which they would not disclose, and such methods of extracting the truth were quite permissible, if it could not be learnt in any other way.

The fleet proceeded up the coast and, on their way, tried to land at the three little towns of Paracca, Chinchá, and Pisco. "But the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of all the townes without sinking of our boates, and great hazard of us all." They proceeded on without making a capture. The whole fleet chased one ship, but night came down and they lost her in the dark. On the next day the *Hugh Gallant* parted company with the rest. The *Content* had been away for some days, so the fleet was getting scattered and nothing was accomplished. Francis Pretty was in the *Hugh Gallant*. They were only eighteen men in all, but they landed and found a big store of meal from which they revictualled their ship. They stayed there doing nothing and were seen by the Spaniards. "In which meane time the towne seeing us ride there still, brought downe much cattell to the sea side to have entised us to come on shoare: but wee sawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelfth day."

On the following day they landed eight men who launched a boat that they saw lying on the beach. She was useless and began to sink, and the eight only succeeded with difficulty in regaining the ship. Three days later they took a big ship but had their usual luck. She was empty, so they left her in a sinking condition some twenty miles from land. Then they rejoined the fleet.

The other vessels had captured several provision ships which, though valuable, had no treasure on board that could be carried away. "One of these ships which had the chiefe

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marchandize in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might have solde it." Here, however, it was useless, so they took what they required, landed the crews, and then burnt the rest.

On the 20th of May the fleet anchored off Paita and "our Generall landed with sixtie or seventie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the towne." The Spaniards left about 100 slaves in a fort, but these were soon put to flight by a shot from one of the ships. They were more courageous than their masters for, though they fled, they made some attempt to fight back. "Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ships and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and drave them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them up upon an hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hilles for the space of an houre that wee drave them in the ende away perforce." On the hills the English found concealed much household belongings and "the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in silver in pieces of eight rials." Very wisely Master Candish "would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were five men to one of us: and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships." They burnt the town and returned on board.

Five days later they reached the Island of Puna where they sank a ship that was lying ready to be careened, and then landed. They found a great palace belonging to the native ruler of the island. "Hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a marvellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth."

"This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and never goeth on the ground upon her feete;

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but holdeth it too base a thing for her : But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like unto an horse-litter upon foure mens shoulders, with a veile or canopie over her for the sunne or the winde, having her gentlewoman still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Iland with her."

But here again Master Candish suffered from his usual bad luck. While lying becalmed off the island, all the natives had fled to the mainland, taking with them 100,000 crowns. On his trying to follow them, he saw lying on the beach four or five great balsas, or rafts, laden with provisions. He had captured an Indian for a guide, but this man could not or would not say why they were there. Under the threat of torture he said that the balsas had probably brought sixty soldiers who were on their way to strengthen the garrison at Guayaquil, a few miles distant.

"Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas unlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not untill then spoken of, with a brave courage animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, untill such time as hee came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning, that they left the meate both boyling and roasting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and such things as wee thought good, and came away."

While lying off the island they "had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe."

At dawn on the 2nd of June the watch were landed to get victuals for the ships. They were scattered over the island when "upon the sudden there came down upon us an hundred Spanish souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, every one with

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weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from us at our first landing there. Thus being taken at advantage we had the worst: for our companie was not past sixteene or twentie; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses: yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe: at the last being sore overcharged with multitudes, we were driven down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, until in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short: for a shot strooke him to the heart: who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemie was driven somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it: And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hasting into the boate. But foure of us were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my selfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steven Gunner, and Richard Rose: which had our shot readie and retired our selves unto a cliffe, untill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had carried the rest abourd. There were sixe and fortie of the enemies slaine by us"—“wee lost twelve men.”

This was the second defeat; again owing to their not keeping a good look out. They had been caught napping and paid the penalty of negligence. It is difficult to find an excuse for the officer in charge. He was in an enemy country; he knew that there was a strong force of Spaniards at Guayaquil, within a few miles of him; hostile Indians were on the mainland close by, anxious to oust the raiders from their homes; the island was wooded, giving plenty of cover for surprise; there were several landing places out of sight; he had been in the island long enough for heavy

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forces to be assembled for the attack. In the face of this he let his men scatter and forage; he set no guard of any kind; he had not even sufficient boats ashore to embark all his men at once in case of need.

Later in the same day they landed seventy men who routed the Spaniards. They then burnt the town and four great ships that were building on the stocks. On the next morning they beached and refitted the *Content* and the pinnace, which latter had been damaged in the attack. After being eleven days at Puna they put to sea again and went to Rio Dolce. "At which place also wee sunke our rere-admirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes."

From there they worked to the North across the Equator to the coast of Nueva Espanna, which they sighted in 10 degrees North. From here they began to take ships again, and captured two almost at once. It was from one of these that they first heard of the great *Santa Anna* which was due on the coast homeward bound from the Philippines. She was reported to be carrying a vast quantity of treasure and would be a prize worth taking.

While on this coast they landed in the Copalita River and went by boat to Guatulco, some six miles away. They burnt the town, and then brought in the ships to water. For some reason they missed the Port of Acapulco, "from whence the shippes are set foorth for the Philippinas." They apparently overshot the town and could not return again to the Southward.

They took "Puerto de Natividad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius" (a pilot that they had captured and kept to take them up the coast) "that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayd pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of advise concerning us along the coast, of Nueva Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two newe shippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were

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in building there on the stockes, and came abourd of our shippes againe."

When they did seize a town they certainly left nothing much behind them.

They watered in the Bay of S. Iago, and then stood on to the North. They were hoping to take the *Santa Anna*, and for some time they hung about the coast of Mexico to the Southward of California with that intent. They worked along slowly, touching at many small places on the way, but not finding anything worth taking, until they reached Mazatlan at the entrance to the Gulf of California. On an island a league from the river they refitted their ships. While they lay here one of their prisoners escaped and swam to his countrymen, who were watching the English from the mainland, a mile away. Candish was much in need of fresh water, and feared that he would have to run back some distance to refill his casks.

"We found upon the island where we trimmed our pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise we had gone backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might have bene occasion that we might have missed our prey wee had so long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall having had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might have filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would."

On the 9th of October they sailed for the Southern end of California and, five days later, "we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight."

They stood off and on awaiting the *Santa Anna* until the 4th of November, when "betwene seven and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the top

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espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape, whereupon hee cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, A sayle, with which cheerfull word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true gave information unto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required."

They had waited long for their quarry, and at last she was in sight. Up till now the voyage had been an expensive one, and they had little to show for their money and labour. This prize, they hoped, would retrieve their fortunes. Through their own faults it nearly destroyed them.

"Whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gave them chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best advantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordinance and a vollee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboard, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, and thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelings, rapiers, and targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboord upon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put us off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their

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Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gave them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were under water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out the flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld."

This suited the English exactly. They had no particular wish to kill the Spaniards if they could get the treasure without doing so. They only fought because their enemies would not hand over their property peaceably.

"Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoysse out their boate and to come aboard: which newes they were full glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboard unto our Generall: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed our Generals feete, and craved mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe."

So the prize was theirs at last, and they were well repaid for their labours. She was crammed with wealth of all kinds. It is by no means clear for what the Spaniards craved "pardon"; possibly for having valiantly defended their property from pirates. For, after all, the English were pirates in those waters. But piracy, as against the Spaniards was a profitable and legitimate occupation in the days of Elizabeth.

"The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of

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the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske and divers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choyse of many conserves of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines."

They took their prize into a harbour and landed the whole of her crew and passengers. There were, in all, 190 persons. The English gave them plenty of food, clothes and arms, together with canvas for tents and planks for them to build a boat.

"Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In devision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the *Content*, which neverthesse were after a sort pacified for the time."

After gutting the prize they burnt her, leaving fully 500 tons of rich merchandise in her which they were unable to take away for want of space. They watched her "burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordinance and set sayle joyfully homewardes towardes England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to East-northeast: and night growing neere, we left the *Content* a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her companie and never saw her after."

Her loss at this time was ominous. Her men had just mutinied and had been "after a sort pacified." Probably the guns of her consorts had helped materially in the pacification. Now, when she was alone, it is more than likely that the mutineers seized their opportunity and captured the ship. If the bulk of the treasure had been stowed in the *Content* it is almost certainly the solution, but we are not told how it was distributed throughout the fleet.

From California the remainder sailed across the North Pacific to the Ladrone Islands, which they reached on the 3rd of January, 1588. They had been forty-five days on the passage. "The 3 day of January by sixe of the clocke

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in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrões called the island of Guana." This island is now called Guam. The savages came out to meet them, bringing fruit, and roots, and fish, which they exchanged for small pieces of iron. The canoes came in multitudes so thick that the ship stove and sank two or three in trying to get through them. The natives did not seem to mind, for they swam like fishes, and were at once picked up by their friends. Only one ship arrived at Guam, but we are not told what happened to the *George*.

The native canoes seem to have differed little from what they are to-day.

"Their canoas were as artificially made as any that ever wee had seene: considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seven or eight yerdes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde."

On the 14th of January they sighted the Philippines. Soon afterwards they entered the straits between Luzon and "the island of Camlaia," which may have been Samar. On the next day they anchored off "an island called Capul," reaching their anchorage by a narrow passage between the islands through which raced "a marveilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off." Here they were visited by the Philipinos, who took them to be Spaniards and sold them quantities of fresh food. "Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selves marveilously well."

But they were nearly betrayed. A Spaniard that they had taken from the *Santa Anna* and kept as a pilot tried to send a letter ashore to his countrymen, informing them of the presence of an English ship and advising them

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to attack her. He had set out in his letter everything that they had done on the American coast, what treasure they had seized, and their present strength. "Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such provision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the Northwest passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could use any meanes to surprize us being there at anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them."

This plot was revealed to Candish by a Portuguese prisoner in the ship. Candish sent for the Spaniard, who at first denied the whole thing. But "the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January."

They passed up between Luzon and Masbat in very difficult waters, and on "the 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigat under her two coarses, comming out betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came from Manilla, sayling close aboard the shore along the maine island of Panama." This was certainly Panay.

This ship was probably only a coaster. She was too small to be bound to Mexico with treasure, and they had already captured the principal treasure ship for the year. The Spaniards used big vessels for the long ocean voyages, though they often sent treasure along the coast in quite small ships.

"We chased this frigat along the shore, and gat very fast upon it, until in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore close by the winde, untill shee was becalmed and was driven to stricke her sayle, and banked up with her oares: whereupon we came unto an anker with our ship,

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a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did rowe the boate: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a river, which we could not find."

While searching for the river they came across many weirs and stake-nets for fish, and a big native canoe full of men who fled at the sight of them. They towed away the deserted canoe.

"Presently upon the taking of this canoa, there shewed upon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne having a red Crosse like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings."—"This band of men shot at us from the shore with their muskets, but hyt none of us, and wee shot at them againe: they also manned a Frigate and sent it out after our boat to have taken us, but we with saile and oares went from them; and when they perceived that they could not fetch us, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their Frigate about the point, but whether we knew not."

The English ran South down the strait between the islands of Panay and Negros into the Sulu Sea; from there through the Molucca Passage into the Celebes Sea; and thus to the Island of Batchian, lying just South of Gilolo. They passed without incident from there through the Molucca Islands and into the Western end of the Banda Sea, round the South end of Celebes and so, by way of the Sunda Strait, into the Indian Ocean. They anchored under the Java shore to provision for their long run across the trades to the Cape of Good Hope. The Javanese sold them what they wanted, including "two great live oxen, halfe a skore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs," etc., etc. Many of these natives were half-bred Portuguese, and there were some pure-bred settlers who had had no news of their

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country for many years. Master Candish entertained the colonists and told them what he could of European affairs. They, in their turn, described the island, its commodities and people.

On the 16th of March they finished victualling and put to sea again. The run to the Cape took them till the 11th of May, when "one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off us, and about noone wee espied land to beare West off us, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperanza, whereof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues." The wind was light and they stood out to the South-East until midnight. Then they got a slant of wind and altered course to the Westward. For the next two days they were becalmed in heavy fog. When the weather cleared they sighted "the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperanza 40 or 50 leagues." This must have been Cape Agulhas, for the distance is approximately correct. And here they got the wind. "The 16 day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came up at East a very stiffe gale, which helde untill it was Saturday with as much winde as ever the ship could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperanza."

On the 8th of June they sighted St. Helena, where they landed on the following day. The island was peopled by Portuguese, and was full of wild pig and goats from which they victualled the ship. As had been so often the case during the voyage, Candish again just missed a fortune. "We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaves which were Negros, and one which was borne in the yland of Java, which tolde us that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes, the least whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither."

They rested at St. Helena for eleven days, and then

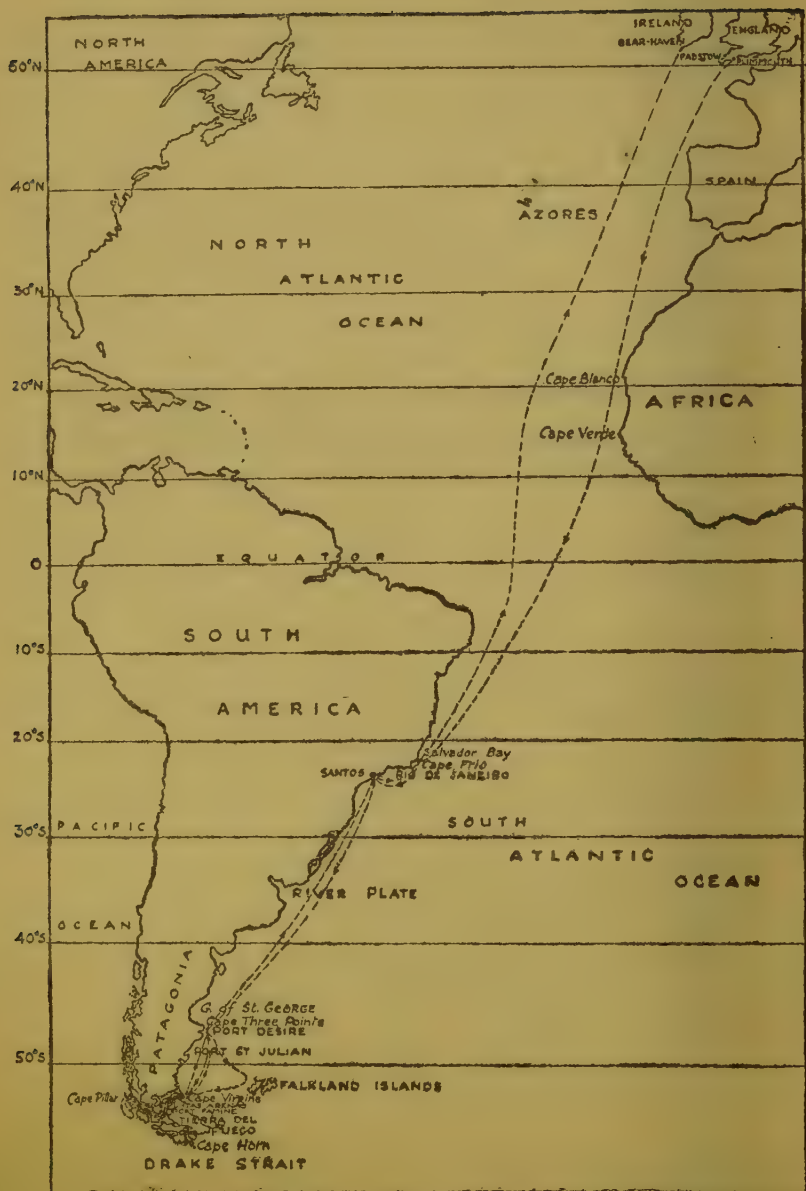
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stood away to the North-West on the run home to England. This was the last place that they touched at before reaching Plymouth, though they sighted Flores and Cuervo in the Azores on the 24th of August.

“ The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, and declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singuler rejoycing and comfort of us all.”

“ The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which caried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull favour of the Almighty we recovered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set foorth at the beginning of our voyage.”

THE LAST VOYAGE OF THE WORSHIP-
FULL MASTER THOMAS CANDISH,
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THE tale of this terrible voyage is told by Master John Jane, "a man of good observation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages." He was one of the few survivors.

"The 26. of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barks, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admiral, The Roebucke vice admirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rereadmirall whereof was Captaine M. John Davis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnesse, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine."

Master Candish intended to take his fleet through the Straits of Magellan into the South Seas, and from there across the Pacific to the Philippines and the coast of China, and so home round the Cape of Good Hope. Thus he would follow a track that he already knew. The possibilities of trade or loot were great, and he might reasonably hope to do better than he had done on his previous voyage into those waters.

John Jane himself sailed in the *Desire*. Her captain was already famous for his attempts to discover the North-West passage, and Davis Strait between Greenland and Baffinland still bears his name. The hardships that he had suffered during his discoveries in the Northern ice can have been no greater than those that he was to endure in the South.

"The 29. of November wee fell with the bay of Salvador upon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio." Here they were becalmed for four days during which time they took a small ship bound for the Plate. She had little

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of value on board, but her master brought the fleet into Placencia not far from Rio de Janiero. They looted a few houses and went on to the isle of S. Sebastian, "from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Davis presently departed with The Desire and the blacke pinnesse, for the taking of the towne of Santos." They anchored outside the bar "from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discovered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners."

Already the fleet was short of stores and food. They took Santos for the express purpose of supplying their wants, but the master blundered and they got nothing.

"For being in Santos, and having it in quiet possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all our needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our governour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoever they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawnes to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people or provision."

From the beginning something was wrong with the equipment of the fleet. They had only been four months at sea, but they were already very short of provisions. They might well be glad to have got fresh food or other stores, but by that time they should not have been so pressed that it would be a serious matter if they failed to do so. But this is what had happened.

Soon Master Candish himself arrived, "where hee remained untill the 22. of January, seeking by intreatie to have that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to live there, and were

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glad to receive a few canisters or baskets of Cassavi meal; so that in every condition we went worse furnished from the town, then when we came unto it."

From there they ran South for the Straits of Magellan, but did not reach them without mishap. "The seventh of February we had a very great storme, and the eighth our Fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest." Finding themselves alone, the captain and master of the *Desire* held a consultation and decided to put into Port Desire, "hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great reliefe there." On their way they "met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case." The two ships kept together until they reached Port Desire in Patagonia on the sixth of March.

Slowly the fleet reassembled. The black pinnace was the first to arrive, followed two days later by the *Galeon* with Candish on board. Adrian "Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, having their Captaine aboard the Roe-bucke without any provision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence aboard our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendship betweene them." The *Galeon* had been in difficulties. She had been swept clean. "Master Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long boat and lighthorseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos."

Master Candish was very wroth with the ship's company of the *Galeon* and with some of the gentlemen adventurers. He refused to stay on board her and shifted his flag to the *Desire*. The officers of the *Desire* "all sorrowed to heare such hard speeches of our good friends; but having spoken with the gentlemen of the *Galeon* we found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them." But Candish stayed in the *Desire* for some time in spite of all that was urged in favour of the other ship.

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On the 20th of March the fleet put to sea and, on the "eighth of April 1592, wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betweene Port Desire and the Streight."

They had wasted a lot of time already on the voyage. They had now been eight months at sea and had done nothing. They were bound for China and the Pacific and, by sailing from England in August, had calculated to pass the Straits in the Southern summer. But the summer was now past and the deadly Cape Horn winter was approaching. At first they were lucky in the Straits, but their luck did not hold good for long.

"The 14. we passed through the first Streight. The 16. we passed the second Streight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 21 wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small coove with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, upon the South shoare, where wee remained until the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but living by muskles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most uncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being aboard the Desire."

And this was after only eight months at sea. They should have had ample stores, both of food and clothing, for the dangerous passage of the Straits. The risks were well known and could easily have been prepared for. But Master Candish seems to have shown an absolute lack of all those qualities necessary for a successful explorer. His want of foresight was criminal, and all the more because he had previously made a voyage through the Magellan Passage and should have known what to expect. Among his com-

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pany he had John Davis, who knew the Arctic well and could have advised him as to his probable needs.

One is forced to the conclusion that Master Candish was one of those people who hope for vast fortunes with no outlay, and that he had stinted his ships in the hope of looting all that he required from the Spaniards. He had failed in that and was now reaping the reward. But the reward fell also on his men.

In his difficulty he consulted Davis, who thought that the weather would soon moderate and that they could then pass the Straits in safety. In spite of this, Candish called his company together and told them that he would return to Brazil. Had he done so, he would most certainly have been right. But he was not telling them the truth. He intended to cross the South Atlantic to the Cape of Good Hope. His company were astonishingly willing to carry on in spite of their sufferings. "The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods favour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoever, rather then to give over the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieved them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed that they would performe."

But when he told his officers of his new idea, they opposed it strongly. Davis "tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slendernesse of his provisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee have no more sailes then mastes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is over head, and among seventie and five persons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteen saylers."

The idea was madness. In the *Desire* alone he had sixty men sick or dead out of a total of seventy-five, and the ship herself was barely seaworthy through lack of gear. In that condition he proposed to run to the Cape through the

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“roaring forties” in the winter! But Candish was clearly not a seaman and did not know the risks, although he had made at least one previous voyage to the South Seas and home round the world. His officers presented him with a petition in writing urging him not to attempt so dangerous a voyage. Then at last he agreed to run back to Santos.

In pursuance of this, Candish returned to the *Galeon* and the whole fleet ran back through the Straits to the Eastward again. The *Desire* lost her boat but, except for that, she came out unscathed. Off Port Desire they lost touch with the *Galeon* and spent some time searching for her, but without success. When they gave up the search, the whole ship's company held a conference to decide what to do. They all wanted to put into Port Desire, expecting to find the other ships there.

“Then the Master being the Generals man, and carefull of his masters service, as also of good judgement in Seamatters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee have no boate to lande our selves, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there.” But in spite of the master's opposition they decided to make for Port Desire. On the way they met the black pinnace, “which had likewise lost the Fleete, being in very miserable case.”

In eleven days they reached their destination but the *Galeon* was not there. This was a heavy blow. They were in urgent need of assistance “being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessities for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow.”

But they had a piece of luck. They found a sheltered anchorage and a spring from which they got abundant good water, neither of which they had known before. They lived on shellfish again as they had in the Magellan Passage. “There were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had never seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes every man caught as

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many as hee could eate." Thus they were able to keep body and soul together and to save their slender stores against a time of even greater need.

While in Port Desire the Captain and Master held another council to decide what to do and how to find the *Galeon*. They "found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee could not fitt our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set up a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and nayles, besides the repairing of our other wants."

They decided to take the pinnace with what sound men they could muster (not very many) and to go and seek the *Galeon*. Those that were left behind would then refit the *Desire* and have her ready for sea by the time that the pinnace returned. The General had said that he would try to pass the Straits again, and he was sure to put into Port Desire on his way South. There he would find the *Desire*, and could await the return of the pinnace in the best known harbour South of the River Plate.

But this did not suit some of those who were to be left behind, and they began to mutiny. As usual in mutiny, the first intent could benefit none and would certainly injure all.

"But the Generall having in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they utterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leave them in the countrey to bee devoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie: whereupon the whole company joyned in secret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muskets through the shippes side, and bullets made of silver for the execution, if their other purposes should faile."

A silver bullet was well known to be fatal to any wizard, so that, even if the victims were protected by art-magic, their deaths were sure. All hands agreed to the murders except the boatswain who "reveiled it unto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question,

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those two most murtherous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith."

These two men caused much trouble, being always the ringleaders among the crew. Both came to a bad end. Just at this time, however, the captain could not punish them as they deserved.

"The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was constrained to use lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie." So he reasoned with the mutineers. "Whereupon all cried out with cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse should not goe unlesse the shippe went."

They could not answer the Captain's arguments, but they would not listen to the proposed plan. A compromise was finally effected whereby nobody left Port Desire. This lessened their chances of early relief but was the only thing to be done under the circumstances. The ringleaders were forgiven by the captain, "who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord judge betweene you and mee: which after came to a most sharpe revenge even by the punishment of the Almightye."

While lying in Port Desire the whole ship's company signed a "protest"—a thing still done by vessels that have suffered damage—setting out all that had happened up to the date thereof. One passage is full of interest as showing their plight. It is eloquent of the whole story of the voyage.

"The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the winde at Northwest, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressle-trees, so that wee could no more use our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise received a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best ende, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieve our selves, and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very loftie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our

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fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for us to get out of the sea. And nowe being here mored in Port Desire, our shroudes are all rotten, not having a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being provided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top-sailes not able to abide any stresse of weather, neither have wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee live onely upon seales and muskles, having but five hogsheads of porke within board, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke."

This protest was " Given in Port Desire the 2 of June 1592. Beseching the almightie God of his mercie to deliver us from this miserie, how or when it shall please his divine Majestie."

Having recorded their protest " then wee began to travell for our lives, and wee built up a smiths forge, and made a cole-pit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the rest gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole company."

Some leagues away was an island where bred innumerable seals and penguins. To this island they sent the pinnace to fetch food for the entire company, and they agreed to share their scanty store of food with her on the days that she was so engaged.

" So wee parted our poore store, and shee laboured to fetch us seales to eate, wherewith wee lived when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames wee could get no muskles. Thus in most miserable calamitie wee remained untill the sixt of August, still keeping watch upon the hils to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke never flesh and blood endured more. Thus our miserie dayly increasing, time passing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde," they decided at last to run for the Straits again and to await Master Candish there. In spite of the mutiny, they were a fine, stout-hearted, and loyal crew to try the Straits again instead of running North into warmer latitudes and so home to England.

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Candish did not deserve such devotion. They waited for him in vain. They never again saw either him or the *Galeon*. We are not told whether he was lost at sea with his ship or whether he returned to England and left his men in the *Desire* to fend for themselves. Either was possible; but if the latter had occurred, it would probably have been mentioned.

They put to sea on the 5th of August, still in the Southern winter. At the island they salted all the seals for which they had salt, "and so departed for The Streights the poorest wretches that ever were created." The Elizabethan seamen seldom repined; never without good cause. But the record of this terrible voyage would not be complete without some word to show the appalling state to which they were reduced.

They had put to sea in fine weather. But it was not to last. On "the ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driven in among certaine Isles never before discovered by any known relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare East and Northerly from The Streights."

These must have been the Falkland Islands, which lie considerably more than that distance from the mainland. Luckily the wind dropped and they escaped being wrecked on them.

They soon got an Easterly slant and stood in for the Straits again, making Cape Virgins in a dense fog. The East wind held and, three days later, they doubled Cape Froward. They were then about half-way through the Straits. On the 22nd of August "we ankered in Salvage coove, so named, because wee found many Salvages there: notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked, and live in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very strong, and threw stones at us of three or foure pound weight an incredible distance."

They only stayed one day in Salvage Cove, and then ran on before the favourable Easterly wind into the North-West Reach, which is probably that now known as Long

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Reach. Here they anchored, intending to wait for the *Galeon*. They were 14 leagues from the South Sea. The Strait there was only three miles broad, so that they had little fear of the *Galeon's* passing them without being seen. But they did not take into account the rigours of a Cape Horn winter.

"After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter, our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunk most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heaieve distresse, our captaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights into the South sea."

They intended to run North to the Island of Santa Maria by the town of Concepcion, where they would find warmer weather and possibly human aid. Master Candish would certainly put in there if he ever got through into the Pacific. Although liable to be attacked by the Spaniards, they could wait for him there in greater comfort and security than they could further to the South.

"So we departed the 13 of September, and came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recovered a coove 3 leagues within the streights from the South Sea. Againe we put foorth, and being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sails; for we never durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake."

They had been a full year at sea, but they should have had spare suits of storm canvas especially for the Straits. The fleet had been stinted from the first, and it was hopeless to attempt the voyage with the gear that they had left to them.

"So againe we recovered the coove three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleased God to calme the storme, and wee unrived our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ship to the trees close by the rockes. We laboured to recover our

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ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane covered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable."

Was ever ship in more desperate plight? They were shorthanded, with many of their men sick or dead; they had barely any food, rotten gear, no ground-tackle; they were without help on the most dangerous and inhospitable coast in the world. But the men were indomitable.

On the 1st of October the weather moderated with an easterly wind. "Whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had five oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one strand helde; then wee praysed God; for we saw apparantly his mercies in preserving us. Being in the chanel, we rived our ropes, and againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured even for the last gaspe of life."

But now again dissension arose among the crew. Some were for returning to Port Desire, there to be landed to "travell for their lives" in the hope of reaching some civilized place before they died. Others wished to continue the voyage into the Pacific. Among the latter were the master and captain. After much discussion all agreed to proceed. In fact, from where they were and considering their parlous state, to adventure in the one direction was no more dangerous than to adventure in the other.

"And so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take: to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground tackle: to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so bad. The pinnesse come roome with us, and tolde us that shee had received many grievous Seas, and that her ropes did every houre fayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make: wee being unable in any

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sort to helpe them, stood under our coarses in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end."

"The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse being in the winde of us, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had received some grievous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with us: but we durst not hull in that unmercifull storme, but sometimes tried under our maine coarse, sometime with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnesse, and never saw her againe." So another of the fleet was lost with all hands, and from that time onwards the *Desire* was alone.

"The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne: then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our sprit-saile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, with haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme."

This storm lasted for another week, during the whole of which time they were forced to keep at sea, clawing to windward off a dead lee-shore. Their chief danger was lack of sea-room. They dared not run before it; they dared not heave to. Had they done either they must have been lost. For hundreds of miles to North and South the rocky, unknown coast lay close under their lee and, should they once touch, not a man would escape. During the whole of that time they never got a sight, and therefore could not run for the narrow entrance of the Straits again. In the thick weather prevailing they dared not close the land on the chance of sighting Cape Pillar. They might have tried to round the Horn, but little was known to the Southward of the Straits, and the risk was too great. They did the only possible thing. They kept at sea and rode it out.

"The tenth of October being by the accompt of

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our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men having given over to travell, we yeelded our selves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moove a joint."

Suddenly the weather cleared, the sun came out and they got a sight. It was the salvation of them all. They could not have stood much more. The fight had been too hard and too long, and the prospects of success too slight. They were not yet out of danger, but they knew where they were and could lay a course for the Straits. Above all, the gleam of sunshine had heartened them and thereby trebled their chances of escape.

"The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Deseado being the cape on the South shore (the North shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, and sholds). This cape being within two leages to leeward off us, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same: whereupon the captain told him: You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die: therefore loose your sails, and let us put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch and set sails. Our sailes had not bene halfe an houre aboard, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oylet holes. The seas continually brake over the ships poope, and flew into the sailes with such violence that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or oversetting of the ship, and withall to our utter discomfort, wee perceived that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so neere the shore, that the counter-suffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horror of our present ende."

She was close-hauled on the port tack and standing to the North, with Cape Pillar on the starboard bow. She

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was terribly close in—so near that she was in the backwash from the rocks—and it was barely possible for her to clear the point. It seems that she was kept too close to the wind—was “pinched,” to use the nautical phrase—and consequently had not way enough. She was being set to leeward all the time. She had to get ahead far enough to clear the cape before she was set so far to leeward as to strike it. The only hope was to run her off a little and get way on the ship.

“Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master veared some of the maine sheate; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee would have shored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare: and when we were come so farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the Father of all mercies delivered us, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserved unto us: and when we were shot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in sixe houres wee were put five and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.”

Thus the labour of two deadly months was lost. The ship fled back through the Straits under bare poles. Though she was only a small vessel, she was doing nearly thirteen knots and it took three men to steer her. She was in evil case. Of her crew, many were dead; the rest were fearfully scurvy-ridden and weak from exposure and privations. But the will to live was still strong and they all worked for their lives.

“In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to moove; their sinewes were stiffe, and their flesh dead, and many of

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them (which is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miserie we were constrained to put into a coove for the refreshing our men."

They secured the ship to trees as they had before, and then laid out their only anchor to kedge her off if necessary. That done, they rested for a week. They could not stay longer for they had no food. On the 20th of October they put to sea again and ran down the Straits to the Eastward. It was hopeless for them to go on.

They had only just put to sea when it came on to blow a howling gale from the West-North-West again. The Captain and Master were fine seamen. They showed it in the way that they took the ship down the Straits.

"The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shore, the chanell being in some places scarce three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had every turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conveyed the ship through that crooked chanell."

There were no lighthouses in those days; and to run through one of the most difficult straits in the world, with its strong tides and dangerous cross-currents, in the pitch dark and before a furious gale of wind, was a brilliant piece of seamanship.

The gale passed in two or three days and they came to the island where the penguins bred. They anchored in calm weather and sent their only boat ashore to bring off a supply of birds. But the treacherous Magellan weather caught them again.

"While our boate was at shore, and we had great store

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of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did drive over a breach and our boate sank at the shore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shore leapt in the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recovered the ship: my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driving upon the lee-shore, when wee came aboard, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankore; for before our comming they could scarce hoise up their yarges, yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seven and twentieth day of October we were free of the Straights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe."

They had been eleven weeks trying to make westing through the Straits. After incredible sufferings they had succeeded; and the fruit of their labours had been snatched from them at the moment that they had achieved success.

As soon as they were anchored off the island the Captain ordered a party of twenty men, which included the two ringleaders in the mutiny, to go ashore for penguins. They were to kill and salt as many as they could, and were to bring them off to the ship. And now the mutiny broke out afresh.

"Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a devise of the Captaine to leave his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recover their countrey." They also remembered that this was the place where they had mutinied before, and they feared the Captain's vengeance. These two men were a constant source of danger to the ship and all on board. They had some following, and they did everything in their power to weaken the Captain's authority and to promote disaffection among the crew. Under the circumstances they could only be bribed and cajoled into obeying orders. The officers dared not risk the chance of open mutiny. Such a thing would certainly have resulted in

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the death of every soul on board. All hands were needed to work the ship. They could not put the mutineers in irons, for their services were required. For the same reason they could not maroon them, which was a punishment sometimes resorted to in those days. The only thing was to persuade them.

The Captain called the mutineers together and addressed them. He assured them that he had no wish for revenge and that, if they would do their work, he would report favourably upon them when they arrived in England—if they ever got there. This satisfied them for a time, and they agreed to land on the island as ordered.

The ship then entered the harbour and was beached on a soft bottom for a much-needed overhaul. As they had done in the Straits, they unrove their running rigging and used it to secure the ship to stakes driven into the earth, and they laid out the anchor with which to haul her off into deep water when they were ready to put to sea again.

On the 3rd of November the boat set off for the island, nine miles away, but had to put back. She was overloaded and it was not safe to send her so far in that trim. At one point, some miles away however, the island reached to within a mile of the mainland, and if the men could get round there by land, the boat could easily ferry them over in safety. The two ringleaders, Parker and Smith, who were of the party, suggested that they might reach the island in this way.

“The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, advising them to take weapons with them: for (sayd he) although we have not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Savages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Ostriches; but if there were Salvages, they would devoure them: notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calievers, swordes, and targets: so the sixt of November they departed by land, and the bote by sea; but from that day to this day wee never heard of our men.”

Exactly what happened we know not. These same men had once been desirous of landing and trying to reach the

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Plate on foot. Possibly they took their chance and deserted; and died on the journey. Savages were in the district, for they appeared during the next few days, but there was nothing to show that they had caught the working-party. At the Captain's orders the men had taken arms, and should have been able to drive off a large force of savages with their fire-arms. But those in the boat would probably have heard the firing. She came back, however, without having seen or heard anything suspicious. The fate of the party was a mystery that was never solved, though the savages were held to be responsible.

"The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of Salvages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared lest they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled: they came to windward of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, and striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we never heard nor saw more of them. Hereby we judged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that were thus slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would have murdered our Captaine and Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the just judgement of God, and made supplication to his divine Majesty to be mercifull unto us."

While lying in Port Desire they went up the river in the boat to see how far they could go by water. They could not get up more than twenty miles, so that the river was of no value to them as a means of escape by land. Their only means of getting North was by ship, so they came back and sent the boat to fetch dried penguins from the island.

"This Penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth under water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They live upon smelts, whereof there is great abundance

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upon this coast : in eating they be neither fish nor flesh : they lay great eggs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twice so big as a ducke." This was their chief article of diet.

They were very fortunate in finding scurvy-grass. They had been practically without vegetables for over a year, and for months scurvy had been raging in the ship. Many had died ; most of the remainder were crippled by it. The grass was a Godsend to them.

" All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with eggs, Penguins, yong Seales, young Gullles, besides other birds, such as I know not : of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scurvy-grasse, which wee fried with eggs, using traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge ye blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, and restored us to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour until the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins ; and the Captaine, the Master, and my selfe had made some salt, by laying salt water upon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kernered. Thus God did feed us even as it were with Manna from heaven."

They stored the salted penguins on the island, ready to be shipped when they sailed. On the 22nd of December, midsummer day in the South, they hauled the ship off the mud, got under way, and left Port Desire, never to see it again. They stopped at the island to ship the penguins, and there they were nearly cast away.

" The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where with great difficulty, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboard : and had not our Master bene very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place : but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector."

From the island they laid a course for Brazil. In spite of their dried penguins they were in a bad way.

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The crew were in health owing to the scurvy-grass, but they were perilously shorthanded; except for the penguins, they had barely any stores left; the ship's sails and rigging were rotten, and they had no means of replacing either.

As soon as they had cleared the land, the Captain mustered the stores and rationed the company. The scale was so meagre as to be almost unbelievable.

"Nowe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought us to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths; for our hope was, that within sixe moneths we might recover our countrey, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces and a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to have so twise a week, so that 5 ounces did serve for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three spoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peason, a pint between 4 men a day, and every day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewith (we praise God) we lived, though weakly, and very feeble."

By the end of January, 1593, they reached Placencia, which had been their first port of call on their outward voyage. Here they landed twenty-four men under the Captain to seize the town and to get food. But they found the whole place burnt and no man therein. "Then the captaine went to the gardens, and brought from thence fruits and roots for the company, and came aboard the ship, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caske. Our case being very desperate, we presently laboured for dispatch away; some cut hoopes, which the coopers made, others laboured upon the sailes and ship, every man travelling for his life, and still a guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, every man having his weapon like wise by him."

Every man was busy, for they were working against time. Their provisions would last for another five months. Could they get home within that time? If so, they might escape; if not, they were certainly doomed. They were a half-starved

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handful in an ill-found ship on an hostile coast 5,000 miles from home. Their chances were of the slenderest.

“The 5 of February being munday, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboard. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murther and slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine: and this was general through the ship.”

Here was one of those strange forebodings that, at times, warn men of impending disaster. Many similar cases can be quoted. They cannot be scouted for imagination; they cannot be explained. They simply happen. Whatever it was, the Captain wisely paid serious heed to the warning.

“The captaine hearing this, who like wise had dreamed very strangely himselfe, gave very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himselfe delivered into the boat, and sent some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietnesse, and when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazavi-roots, and dined.”

But once these uncanny warnings come, no care on earth can prevent their being fulfilled. The heat was great; the men on shore were weak and over-worked. And thus it came about.

“After dinner some slept, some washed themselves in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, and no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus sleeping and sporting, having gotten themselves into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians and Portuguales upon them, and slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we understood of this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our boat, and landed to succour our men; but we found them slaine, and laied

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naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces upward, and a crosse set by them."

There was nothing to be done but to bury their dead. While on shore they saw two pinnaces full of soldiers that had come from Rio de Janeiro, apparently with the intention of capturing them. This, however, the troops did not attempt.

"Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 27, having lost 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, calivers, powder, and shot." They were too weak to stay and fight. They could only put to sea and hope to find another port where their presence would not be discovered. But to go to sea in the state in which they were was, in itself, a perilous undertaking. And so it proved.

"Our caske was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship, for want of caske, and that which we had was marvellous ill conditioned: and being there moored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, and to be assayled by them of Jenero: what distresse we were now driven into, I am not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterve at sea, and in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had tasted, and of the others cruelty we were not ignorant."

Should they sail or should they stay and fight it out? It was a choice of evils, and probably they chose the lesser.

"So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance and small shot in a readines, for any assalt that should come, and having a small gale of winde, we recovered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then bemoning our estate one to another, and recounting over all our extremities, nothing grieved us more, then the losse of our men wise, first by the slaughter of

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the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals."

It may have been coincidence, but it savoured strongly of Divine justice, that the whole of the mutineers except one had been killed in these two attacks. But in some ways the dead were the lucky ones. They were saved afflictions that have rarely been equalled at sea, sufferings comparable only to those of the survivors from the wreck of the French Frigate *La Meduse*, and they continued for an infinitely longer time.

"Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; so that 3 weekes we were grievously vexed with crosse windes, and our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, and to submit themselves to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirst: but the captaine with faire perswasions altered their purpose of yeelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send us raine in such plenty, as that we were wel watered, and in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere unto the sun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most lothsome and ugly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increase, and devoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoide famine, but be devoured of these wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not devour, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings: and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would undoe us, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased; so that at the last we could not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos."

What monstrous variety of animal this was, it is impossible to say. This nightmare ship, with her cargo of rotting penguins and terrible man-eating worms, drifted slowly across the tropics, daily bringing her starving crew nearer to the more healthy regions of the North. And now another

affliction fell upon this wretched company. They were smitten with a frightful scurvy.

“In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinociall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was never heard of: for in their ankles it began to swell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath.”—“Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captaine with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake for sorrow, yet he perswaded them to patience, and to give God thankes, and like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this divers grew raging mad, and some died in most lothsome and furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine and one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, so that it grew not upon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to moove. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and my selfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health: upon us 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion served, would take in, and heave out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of us at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor heave out a saile: so our top-saile and sprit-sailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously grieved with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers upon the sea, the 11 of June 1593, it pleased God that we arrived at Bear-haven in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore.”

And there they fell among thieves. She came in like the ship of the Ancient Mariner, but the Irish would have robbed the Flying Dutchman himself.

“The Irish men helped us to take in our sailes, and to

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more our ship for flooting: which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could have the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided us into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or foure of the company to keepe the ship; and within 5 days after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserved, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end."

THE LOSS OF HER MAJESTY'S SHIP
REVENGE, THE LAST OF AUGUST,
1591

THE LOSS OF HER MAJESTY'S SHIP *REVENGE*, THE LAST OF AUGUST, 1591

“ BECAUSE the rumours are diversly spread, as well in England as in the Lowe countreys and elsewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Majesties ships and the Armada of Spaine ”—
“ it is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falshood and untrueth; that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenvil, and other her Majesties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truly set downe and published without partialitie or false imaginations.”

After the great fight off the Azores the Spaniards had flooded all Europe with lying pamphlets and false reports in their attempts to explain away one of the most damaging blows that their prestige had ever received. Though the material damage to their power was comparatively slight and they had captured an English ship of war, the moral effect was tremendous. This the Spaniards were vainly trying to minimize, and for this reason did Sir Walter Raleigh write that glowing account of the battle from which all later histories have been drawn.

“ The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Majesties shippes, sixe victualers of London, the Barke Raleigh, & two or three other Pinnases riding at anker neere unto Flores, one of the Westerly Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advise to my L. Thomas of their approach.”

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The Spanish fleet was not any part of the "Invincible Armada," which had been defeated three years before, but was a powerful force that had been sent from Spain to the Azores to meet and convoy a particularly rich treasure fleet from the Spanish Main. The Azores were a favourite hunting ground for English ships bent on raiding the Spanish treasure, and for this reason the Spaniards usually convoyed their yearly plate fleet from the Western Isles to the Spanish coast. Lord Thomas Howard's force was lying in wait for the treasure ships which the Armada was there to protect. Several other English ships were scattered among the islands, but none were at hand to help the small fleet that was lying at Flores.

Captain Middleton was really too late with his news. The Spaniards arrived on the scene almost as soon as he, and thus the English had no time to prepare for action. Had he been earlier, the result of the battle might have been very different.

"Hee had no sooner delivered the newes but the fleete was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some providing balast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging everything out of order, very light for want of balast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one halfe part of the men of every shippe sicke, and utterly unserviceable: for in the Revenge there were ninety diseased; in the Bonaventure, not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barke of sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in little better state. The names of her Majesties shippes were these as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Revenge Viceadmirall, the Bonaventure cammaunded by Captaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vavasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight & the Crane being

Loss of Her Majesty's Ship " Revenge "

but smal ships; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Raleigh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none."

All these ships were refitting after their voyage from home. They had been six months at sea. Their gear required a thorough overhaul; standing rigging to be set up, running rigging to be renewed. They badly needed to be careened and to have their bottoms scraped. For this purpose it would be necessary to land their ballast, and either to beach them, or to heave them down to their anchors with hawsers led through blocks at their lower-mast-heads. In either event the ships could not be got ready for sea at a moment's notice, and that was all that they got. Added to this, there was much sickness in the fleet, very probably scurvy, which could only be cured by fresh provisions and healthy rest on shore. In these circumstances Lord Thomas Howard was told that an overwhelming Spanish force was approaching the island. He had scarcely heard the news when they were sighted close off the harbour and to windward of him.

The English slipped their cables and fled to sea. They got an offing in time and barely weathered the Spanish fleet. The *Revenge* was the last to leave; she stayed to bring off her sick. Even then she could have got clear, for she was one of the fastest ships in the fleet and was famous for her sailing powers. But Sir Richard Grenville refused.

"The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the Island; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinvile was the last that wayed, to recover the men that were upon the Island, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinvile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the ship; for the squadron of Sivil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turne from the enemie, alleaging that hee would rather choose to die, then

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to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Majesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Sivil to give him way. Which hee performed upon divers of the formost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well have bene answered in so great an impossibilitie of prevailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded."

In view of the amazing fight put up by the *Revenge*, it seems more than likely that, had the rest of the English fleet come to her assistance, the Spaniards would have been completely defeated. They would not take the risk, however, believing it to be hopeless in their weak state to attack such a heavy force with the slightest chances of success. It was not fear; it was prudence. Even George Fenner, who single-handed had fought off seven great Portuguese warships some years earlier in these very waters, and who had rendered such valuable services when routing the great Armada, was against it. Had the English ships been ready for sea they might have entered the fight, but they were in too bad a shape to do so. They were crank from lack of ballast; they were terribly short-handed through sick men; their rigging was half unrove. They did what they could, but it amounted to little.

"For the rest of her Majesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the *Revenge*, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the *Revenge* ingaged past recovery: The Iland of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanish, divided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serve: the ships growne foule, unroomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of balast, having bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanish fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would have crusht them betweene them into shivers.

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Of which dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemye could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would have entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Majesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemye, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelyhood of prevailing; thereby to diminish the strength of her Majesties Navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemye. The Foresight of the Queenes commaunded by M. Thomas Vavisor performed a very great fight, and stayed two houres as neere the *Revenge* as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gave divers voleis of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemye, untill they were parted by night."

Evidently there was a difference of opinion as to the advisability of coming to the assistance of the *Revenge*. Some of the fleet did their best to aid her, but they dared not get hemmed in and thus were able to do little. And by the time that they had decided to render her even the small help that they did, she was in the thick of the fight, so far that it was hopeless to attempt to get her out without grave risk to the supporting ships. This risk they were not prepared to take. So the *Revenge* was left, practically unsupported, to withstand the attacks of fifty-three great Spanish ships, each larger and far more heavily manned than herself.

"In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: so huge and high carged was the Spanish ship,

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being of a thousand and five hundreth tuns. Who after layd the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also layd him aboard : of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Brittandona. The sayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tire. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her sterne ports."

The *San Philip* was an immense ship for those days. She was what was afterwards known as a three-decker, and carried in all somewhere about eighty guns. Like most of the Spanish vessels, she was very high built, especially aft where, as was usual at that date, her stern ran up in a series of decks of diminishing size to a tiny poop that sloped steeply forward.

The English ships were lower and smaller, and the *Revenge*, when under the lee of the *San Philip*, was completely becalmed. The wind was so light that she entirely lost all steerage way. Had it been stronger, she could have carried her way through the lee of the *San Philip* until she again picked up the wind beyond her. Had she been able to do this she would probably have escaped. She had weathered several of the Spaniards. As she forced herself into the fleet, coming up close-hauled, the vessels ahead of her had put their helms up and had fallen to leeward, thus giving her a passage to windward of them. The *San Philip* was too far to windward to be across the bows of the *Revenge*, and therefore there was no reason for her to give way. To do so could only bring her into collision with the English ship, while, by staying where she was, she had the weather gauge and was in the best fighting position. This sealed the fate of the *Revenge*. Her object was to force a passage through the Spanish fleet; not to stay and fight if she could get through. She was safe from the ships to leeward of her if she kept her way. This she failed to do owing to the presence of the *San Philip*, and thus she gave to the ships to leeward a chance to lay her aboard.

"After the *Revenge* was entangled with this Philip,

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four other boarded her; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great San Philip having received the lower tire of the *Revenge*, discharged with crossebar-shot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the shippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, unlesse we were assured."

The Homeric fight put up by the *Revenge* for so long and against such heavy odds is comparable, both in the valour displayed and in the result, with the wonderful resistance offered by Leonides and his 300 Spartans in the Pass of Thermopylae against the whole army of the Persians.

"The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soulders and Musketters, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas."

As happened when the *Three Halfe Moones* was captured by the Turks, the Spaniards should have been able to pour into the *Revenge* so many men as to leave no room for her crew to use their weapons. Thus she must have been taken from sheer press of numbers. But the Spaniards lacked the courage of the Turks and dared not try that trick. Repeatedly they tried to board; repeatedly they were repulsed with heavy loss, and for hours they never got a footing on the English decks. But the *Revenge* was alone and had no hope of help. There could be but one end.

"In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London having received some shot thorow her by the *Armadas*, fell under the lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir

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Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force : Sir Richard bid him save himselfe, and leave him to his fortune."

This small vessel was the only one that offered to stand by the *Revenge* and lend her what aid she could. She was unarmed and too small to be of any help, so Sir Richard was undoubtedly right in ordering her to keep out of danger. Had the heavy ships under Sir Thomas come in at this point, it is very probable that they could have engaged the Spaniards closely enough to have allowed the *Revenge* to fight her way into open water again. But they did not make the attempt.

"After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made."

So the *Revenge* had sunk two ships and had damaged many. But she herself was in a bad way. She had started short-handed and, of the few that she had, many had been killed and more wounded. Among the latter was Sir Richard himself.

"Some write that sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recovered. But two of the *Revenues* owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was never so wounded as that hee forsooke the upper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirugion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent unto master William Killegrue, of her Majesties privy Chamber."

Be that as it may, Sir Richard was the moving spirit in the battle. In those days, and for long afterwards, the commanding officer was in full view of the whole upper deck, and

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his personal gallantry had an enormous effect upon the spirits and conduct of his men. Thus Sir Richard's wonderful coolness and courage was continually noted by his crew, and it inspired them to perform marvels. And in his gunner Sir Richard had a man of equal boldness with himself.

"But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she having never lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her : So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene severall Armadas assayed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries."

The sides of warships of that period, and in fact right up to the end of the days of sail, "tumbled home" to an extraordinary extent. That is, on the waterline the ships were much wider than at the upper-deck. Thus, when two ships lay alongside each other, there were many feet between them at the level of the upper-deck, though at the waterline they were in close contact. It was, therefore, not an easy matter to board except through the lower gun-ports. If these were closed (and this was often done to prevent their being used by enemy boarders) the boarders had to scramble up the ship's side in the teeth of heavy opposition, and in through the open main or upper deck gunports. Failing that, they had to climb still higher and board over the bulwarks, which were usually protected by boarding-nettings and by various other means. For centuries the method of boarding and repelling boarders was scarcely changed in its main features, and the accounts of boarding in the days of Nelson could apply, with slight variations, to the days of Drake.

But the *Revenge* was heavily overburdened with enemies. She had to repel boarders on both sides, and that unceasingly, with no rest nor spell for her crew. She could not even relieve her men in sections, for every soul was hard at work the whole night through. The Spaniards, on the other hand, could bring up fresh men continually to the attack. As one ship

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was beaten off another took her place, and frequently a third would lie alongside one of those in action. She, while completely protected, would pour in her boarders across the ship that was grappled to the *Revenge*.

The *Revenge* held them off all night but with heavy loss to herself. Daylight came in about four o'clock in the morning, and from that time onwards she lost men even more rapidly than she had during the night. At daylight the bowmen and arquebusiers could come into play, and from their higher sides the Spaniards could shoot down over her bulwarks on to the unprotected upper deck of the *Revenge*. Thus the cover afforded by the bulwarks and "fights" (which were barricades erected for protection during action) was nullified. Such a fight was too hot to last.

"But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the successe: but in the morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous houndes, but escaped."

The *Revenge* had been fought to a standstill, but she had brought her foes to the same state. She could not touch them; they dared not touch her.

"All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundreth free from sicknes, and fourescore & ten sicke, laid in hold upon the Ballast. A small troupe to man such a ship, & a weake garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred al was susteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with souldiers brought from every squadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Mastes all beaten over boord, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper worke altogether rased, and in effect evened shee was with the water,

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but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left over head either for flight or defence."

She lay a hulk on the water. She could not fire a shot; she had scarcely a weapon unbroken, not a man unwounded. Her bulwarks had been smashed by her falling spars and masts, which could not be cut away for she had no men to spare for the work. And they were useful in preventing her foes from boarding again. Her gun-ports were beaten one into another; her useless guns were dismounted or masked by her fallen spars; she was pierced in three places below the waterline and was sinking fast. But of her enemies, hardly one was undamaged. At least two had been sunk, and others were like to sink.

" Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fiftene houres fight, the assault of fiftene severall Armadas, all by turnes aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and entries; and that himselfe and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him. (The Revenge not able to moove one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billow of the sea) commaunded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a Navie they were not able to take her, having had fiftene houres time, above ten thousand men, & fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to yeelde themselves unto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not nowe shorten the honour of the Nation, by prolonging their owne lives for a few houres, or a few dayes. The Master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the Captaine and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being

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divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one shippe of her Majestie, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves; they answered, that the shippe had sixe foote water in holde, three shot under water, which were so weakely stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so crusht and brused, as shee could never be removed out of the place."

It was needless to blow her up. She could never make port again. Even Flores was beyond her. She would have had to be towed or, failing that, to be jury-rigged throughout, and that was beyond the Spaniards' powers. She was sinking fast. She had three heavy leaks below water, and with every swell the water poured in through her broken sides. She did, in fact, float for some days and was lost in the first gale that struck her.

It was a costly victory for the Spaniards. Their fleet was badly shattered, for many had been damaged by gun-fire besides the fifteen that had tried to board. The wreck of the *Revenge* lay inside the ring of the Spaniards, utterly unable to escape but still so dangerous that they dared not attack her again. Sir Richard was in a strong position to make terms had he wished to do so. But he would not and, after much discussion, his men did so for him.

"And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons: the Master of the *Revenge* (while the Captaine wanne unto him the greater party) was convoyd aboard the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none over hastie to enter the *Revenge* againe, doubting least Sir Richard would have blowne them up and himselfe, and perceiving by the report of the Master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition) yeilded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, & the better sort to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gally or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as wel, as I have said, for feare of further losse

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and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenvil; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire."

The capture of Sir Richard Grenville was a great achievement. In his time he was as famous as Drake and Hawkins, though his name to-day is not quite so familiar. He was a great fighter, though his exploits, except in the manner of his death, did not make so great an appeal to the public as did those of Sir Francis Drake. But Grenville was a man of wide vision, whose counsel carried weight with the greatest in the land, and this Drake and Hawkins were not. They were seamen only, Grenville was more.

To their honour, the Spaniards treated him and the survivors of his crew with the greatest consideration. For Grenville they did all that was possible and, though he died, it was not the fault of his captors.

" When this answer was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slaine himselfe with a sword, had he not bene by force withheld and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboard the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus over-matched, was sent unto by Alfonso Baçan to remoove out of the *Revenge*, the shippe being marveilous unsavorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reviving againe desired the company to pray for him."

Those in favour of surrender were undoubtedly right, though it was mortifying to lose the ship to the enemy, especially as the *Revenge* was the only ship of Her Majesty's to be taken as a prize in the whole war. But it was an empty victory for the Spaniards. The *Revenge* was sinking, and

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was so shattered that it was impossible to save her. Sir Richard was dying and was already beyond hope. The enemy could take nothing back to Spain to show for their victory except the long lists of their dead and their own broken hulls. The few prisoners taken merely served to show how small a force had damaged them so much. To have blown up the *Revenge* would merely have killed the survivors and would only have expedited the loss of the ship by a few days. The small satisfaction of avoiding capture would have been more than counterbalanced by the loss of life entailed.

“The Generall used Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recoverie, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution sildome approoved, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.”

“The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron, was Britandona. Of the squadron of Sivil, the Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant John, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captaine confesseth, besides divers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.”

There was no lack of titles among the Spaniards. But this was usual with them. They always did everything in the most approved style. Not a pinnace put to sea without a full complement of officers, soldiers and seamen of every rank and grade. Every fleet was commanded by an officer from the highest aristocracy supported by others of scarcely

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inferior ancestry. But their fitness for commanding a fleet at sea was not always equal to their social rank, a fact that was not always taken sufficiently into account when appointments to sea-going commands were made. This was one of the reasons for the defeat of Spain at sea. Another reason was that the commanders were so bound by stringent orders given to them before they sailed, that they were frequently unable to take advantage of opportunities that presented themselves. This fatal defect in the Spanish organization, which deprived commanders of all initiative, was one of the chief causes of the defeat of the " Invincible Armada " in 1588.

" The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Sivil were both sunke by the side of the Revenge; one other recovered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboard the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his owne honour."

So that at least three ships were sunk and another had to be beached to save herself. From the point of view of the historian, it is a pity that, a few days after the action, almost the whole Spanish fleet, including the *Revenge*, was cast away in a storm. Had they got safely home to Spain, many more details of this wonderful battle would have been available. As it was, the details of the action were lost with the fleet, and the smaller and less creditable incident (from the Spanish point of view) was lost in the greater disaster.

" A few dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the fleete was dispersed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrivall, of which 14. saile together with the

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Revenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away upon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieved in her life time."

Sir Walter Raleigh's sarcasm is well justified. The fame of Sir Richard Grenville and the *Revenge* echoed through the world, and it has rung down the centuries to the present day.

"On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre : and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set her selfe on fire, beeing boorded by the Pilgrim, and five other taken by master Wats his ships of London, between the Havana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of November we received letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, saved out of the perished ships : & that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Ilands and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for us, and to defend the justice of our cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to devoure all nations, are themselves devoured. A manifest testimony how unjust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his mislike of their bloody and injurious designes, purposed and practised against all Christian princes, over whom they seeke unlawfull and ungodly rule and Empery."

Thus Sir Walter Raleigh's account, written within three months of the battle. He drew his facts from survivors who had taken part in that tremendous fight and wrote his tale to defeat the propaganda of the Spaniards.

John Huighen van Linschoten, a Dutchman, also wrote his account of the battle. His story varies in many details from that of Sir Walter Raleigh, but he mentions certain

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interesting facts, some of which are famous. He minimises the forces of the Spaniards and exaggerates those of the English, but he cannot get away from the extraordinary heroism of the latter. His remarks on the character of Sir Richard Grenville are probably exaggerated and, in many respects, untrue, but there may be a basis of truth which supports the edifice of his imagination.

"The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arrived in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serve the king, besides other small ships and pataxos, that came to serve as messengers from place to place, and to discover the seas. This navie came to stay for, and convoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saved in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to convoy them to Lisbon."

Thus Linschoten puts the Spanish fleet at forty sail, and says that the remainder were only small auxiliaries. Even if that were correct, the odds would be fearfully heavy and, among so many, the few extra could make but little difference. They could not all attack the *Revenge* at the same time; there would not be room for them, and it is not suggested that she was boarded by more than fifteen.

"The 13 of September the said Armada arrived at the Iland of Corvo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to have taken them."

The expected Spanish fleet for which the English were waiting was the extraordinarily rich treasure fleet from Nombre de Dios and Havana. That year it was exceptionally valuable, and it was due to arrive at the Azores during the autumn.

Had the English force consisted of sixteen ships, Lord Thomas Howard would never have left the *Revenge* to her fate. He and most of the captains with him were famous fighters who had had many years' experience of the Spaniards. They knew that heavy odds against them were

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usually more than counterbalanced by the handier ships, finer seamanship, and better fighting qualities of the English. Sixteen to forty was not unusual odds; six to fifty-three was overwhelming.

“ But when they perceived the kings army to be strong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal upon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, unlesse he gave commission so to do : notwithstanding the viceadmirall sir Richard Greenvil being in the ship called the Revenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the rest of the company would have folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & sailed away : the cause why could not be knowen. Which the Spaniards perceiving, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biscain : but in the end by reason of the number that came upon her, she was taken, but to their great losse : for they had lost in fighting and by drowning above 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenvil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died.”

If the numbers of the fleets had been sixteen to forty the reason why the rest of the English fleet made off “ could not be knowen ” ; but if the numbers were six to fifty-three, the reason was plain enough. Except for that, Linschoten’s account so far agrees fairly closely with that of Sir Walter Raleigh. From this point onwards the two stories differ considerably but each supplements the other.

Sir Richard “ was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan : there his wounds were drest by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him : all the rest of the captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for y^t he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour ; but feeling the houre of death to approch, he spake these words in Spanish, and said :

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Here die I Richard Grenvil with a joyful & quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most joyfull departeth out of this body, & shal alwayes leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant & true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gave up the Ghost, with great & stout courage, & no man could perceive any true signe of heavines in him."

These famous words, which are not mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh writing within three months of the battle, do not seem to be in keeping with the description of Sir Richard's character as given by Linschoten. They are, however, in keeping with the character of a man who could conceive and fight so fine an action as this battle off the Azores. The Western Isles have been the scene of many hard fights, but of none that equalled the last fight of the *Revenge*.

"This sir Rich. Grenvil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, & had great yeerely revenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very unquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; insomuch as of his owne private motion he offred his service to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and known of every man, but of nature very severe, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, & spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough have sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiving that the other ships had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Grenvil threatned both him & al the rest that were in the ship, y^t if any man laid hand upon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken."

To a certain extent this accords with what Sir Walter Raleigh tells us. When the Spanish fleet appeared in the offing there was certainly a discussion as to what should be

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done. It is clearly unlikely that, when Lord Thomas Howard left the *Revenge* to fend for herself, every officer in the ship was eager to follow Sir Richard into the jaws of death. Sir Richard had his way, but he did not gain it without having to overcome much opposition, and this heated argument accounts for Linschoten's story.

"He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a braverie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in pieces & swallow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him : & this was told me by divers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him."

If this was true it cannot have happened when Sir Richard was a prisoner in the Spanish flagship. He was then mortally wounded and died in three days. Linschoten does not tell us of any other occasions when he dined with his deadly enemies, the Spaniards.

The English captives were divided among the Spanish ships. "The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into divers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals : while each of them would have the honour to have first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and every one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselves."

It was here that Linschoten heard the details of the fight and saw the state of the victors. Apparently most, if not all, of the English prisoners were landed at Tercera, and thus escaped the disaster that overtook the Spaniards.

"I and my chamber-fellow, to heare some newes, went aboard one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Bartandono, that had

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bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England." (This must have been the Invincible Armada.) " He seeing us called us up into the gallery, where with great curtesie he received us, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke velvet, but he could not tell us any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandono also could a litle speake. The English captaine got licence of the governour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side."—" The Governour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, *as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea between Lisbon & the Ilands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the English marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English captaine comming into Lisbon, was there wel received and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Setuval, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners."

After getting rid of their prisoners, one from one ship and one from another, for there were barely enough to go round, the Spaniards refitted and waited for the treasure fleet, which was the principal reason for their presence at the Azores. Then they all sailed for Spain, but few ever reached their home ports. They were almost all cast away in a storm of extraordinary fury that burst over the islands. In this storm was lost the *Revenge*, the solitary prize taken by the Spaniards for years.

" The Spanish armie staid at the Iland of Corvo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard & cruell a storme, that those of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was never

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any such seen or heard off before; for it seemed the sea would have swallowed up the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them : but the sea reached above them, and living fishes were thrownen upon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compasse, at the lest twice or thrise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea : so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were above 12 ships cast away, and not onely upon the one side, but round about it in every corner, wherby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned : so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came driving on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the *Revenge*, that was cast away upon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces & sunke to the ground, having in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saved that got up upon the cliffes alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought us the newes desiring to be shriven, & there-upon presently died. The *Revenge* had in her divers faire brasse pieces that were all sunke in ye sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh up againe the next Sommer after.”

And so ended the *Revenge* and, with her, the Spaniards’ hope of at least one Queen’s ship as a prize in return for their years of effort and many heavy losses in men, money, and ships.

“On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera : for on the Iland of Saint George there were two ships cast away : on the Iland of Pico two ships : on the Iland of Gratosia three ships : and besides those there came every where round about divers pieces of broken ships, and

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other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the sea was all covered most pitifull to beholde. On the Iland of S. Michael three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out; whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the sea without masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arrived in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and tomorrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesayd. All the rest were cast away upon the Ilands, and overwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be considered what great losse and hindrance they received at that time: for by many mens judgements it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truly be sayd, the taking of the *Revenge* was justly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleevved verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks."

The Spaniards' losses were so enormous that it is hardly surprising that they so believed. These were not confined to ships of war. The treasure fleet suffered severely, and little gold got home to Spain.

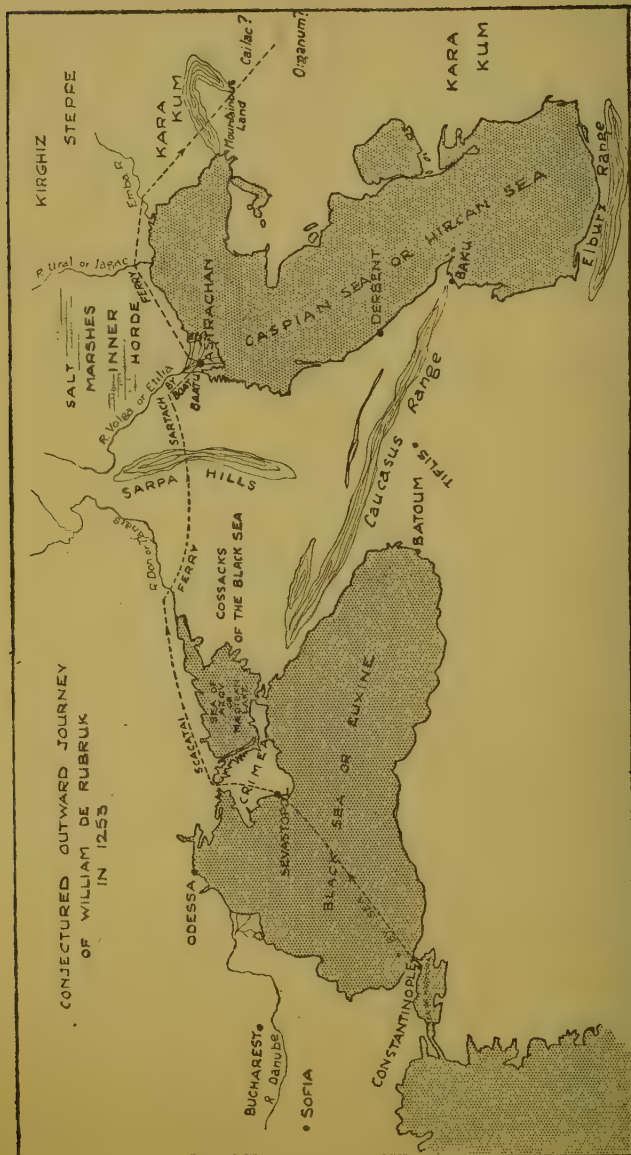
"As one of these Indian fleets put out of Nova Spagna, there were 35 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, comming out of the chanell of Havana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two ships laden with golde and silver, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Corvo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England."

What with his losses in men, and ships, and treasure,

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through bad seamanship in his unhandy craft, and from the English raiders along his homeward track, where they lay in wait for weeks, especially among the islands of the Azores and off the Spanish coast, little profit was left to Philip of Spain from his vast possessions in the New World.

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY EMBASSY



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A THIRTEENTH CENTURY EMBASSY

"To his most Sovéraigne, and most Christian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health and continual triumph in CHRIST.

"It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall travell into forren countries, and good and evill shall he trie in all things. The very same action (my lord and king) have I atchieved: howbeit I wish that I have done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more undiscreetly: of which number I feare my selfe to be one."

Thus wrote William de Rubruk to Louis IX of France in the year 1253. He had been sent as the king's ambassador with letters to the Court of the Tartars, and on his return he made his report. Unfortunately the last part of his manuscript is missing, but that which remains tells a wonderful story of obstacles overcome and dangers averted among a strange people by the perseverance and intrepidity of the valiant monks who undertook the journey.

Little was known about the Tartars in those days, and travellers' letters were filled with tales of impossible events and mythical monsters which were not half so wonderful as the facts. In spite of William de Rubruk's detailed account, it is by no means easy to follow his journey, for the names have changed and the places vanished by which he told his route.

The existence of the Caspian Sea was already known, and William de Rubruk's party, by going round the two unexplored sides, proved that it was not a portion of the Black Sea as had been believed. He writes: "It is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean," and, "Frier

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Andrew, in his journey traueiled round about the two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about the other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can,¹ and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may travel round about it in Foure moneths." The Caspian is about 2,000 miles in circumference, so that their daily rate was some sixteen or seventeen miles, which is fairly fast considering the unknown, difficult, and savage country through which they passed.

The party entered the Black Sea early in May and arrived at Soldaia, which was probably Sevastopol, towards the middle of June. They had intended to travel as private persons, but on their arrival they found that their secret was already out. They therefore had to admit that they were sent by the King of France to the Lord Sartach, a son of Baatu, the Tartar ruler and the lord of all the land. And the people of Soldaia "received us with gladnes and gave us enterteinment in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing so." There is much eloquence in that "nothing so."

Following the advice of the merchants, the party bought covered carts like the Russians used, of which he says: "Wherefore, contenting my selfe with their evil counsel, I was traueiling unto Sartach 2. moneths which I could have done in one, if I had gone by horse."

William de Rubruk had brought with him "pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present unto the Governours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free passage: because they looke favourable upon no man which commeth with an emptie hand." The governors were fortunately absent, so the monks kept their "delicate bisket bread" for use on future occasions.

The caravan consisted of "fower covered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest upon in the night,

¹ These were rulers, not places.

and they allowed us five horses to ride upon. For there were just five persons in our company : namely, I my selfe and mine associate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemanaus, and Nicolas my servant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed upon me. Moreover, they allowed us two men, which drave our carts and gave attendance unto our oxen and horses."

They must have suffered severely from lack of interpreters, for William de Rubruk observes plaintively : " Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersova and Soldaia, every one of which almost have their proper languages."

They passed the great salt pans from which Baatu and Sartach drew large revenues, and three days later met the first Tartars : " Amongst whome being entred, me thought I was come into a new world."

He describes the people and their customs with much detail. They were apparently wholly nomad, " they have in no place any setled citie to abide in," and their lands extended from the Danube " even unto the rising of the sunne." They were a well-ordered people, divided into bands, each with a captain over it who knew the boundaries of his particular pasture and led his band Northward in summer and Southward in winter with the rest of the nation.

The tents or lodges were of wicker on a wicker floor, " the rooffe whereof consisteth (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting above into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth upward a necke like unto a chimney, which they cover with white felte, and oftentimes they lay mortar or white earth upon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white." The Tartars painted their houses after the manner of the North American Indians, with " vines, trees, birds, and beastes." These lodges were as much as thirty feet in breadth, and were dismantled for loading on to carts when the band changed its grazing ground. Some, however, were lifted bodily on to the carts, which were enormous. " For measuring once the breadth

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betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete over: and when the house was upon the carte, it stretched over the wheeles on each side five feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house upon a cart, eleven in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleven more before them: the axle-tree of the carte was of an huge bignes like unto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, upon the forestall of the carte driving forth the oxen."

The Tartars carried all their household goods in wicker chests, which they bound permanently on carts drawn by camels so that they could wade through rivers. A rich Tartar would have "200. or 100. such cartes with chests."

"When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: and next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here and there, within half a stones cast of ye house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals."

The camps were of immense size and the ground was necessarily changed frequently, for the huge herds constantly required fresh pasture.

"Duke Baatu hath sixteene wives, every one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And unto every of the said houses do belong 200. cartes."

When pitching camp the chief wife always pitched her tent to the West of the inferior wives, the last wife being the farthest East. The husband's tent was always to the West of all his wives, and his men to the East of him. "Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like unto a great village, very few men abiding in the same." Their manner of changing their grounds must have astonished the monk. He writes: "One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte driving the oxen, and al the

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residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them over one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke."

The Tartars were a drunken race, and drunkenness was no offence. "In winter they make an excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill" (which was probably millet seed) "and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine."—"In summer time they care not for any drinke but Cosmos." This Cosmos must have been an unpleasant decoction according to modern ideas, but William de Rubruk speaks well of it. It was made by curdling mares' milk, and seems to have been the Tartars' staple diet in hot weather. The manner of its making was as follows: "And having gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, having a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat upon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, and to be sower and sharp of taste, and they beate it in that manner till the butter come thereof."

The great lords drank caracosmos, or black cosmos, which was the thin whey from curdled mares' milk, the curds of which were given to the servants. Duke Baatu received daily the caracosmos from 3,000 mares, besides other milk.

They melted their cows' butter into rams' skins without salt, which they preserved for winter use. If an animal died they cut the flesh into strips and sun-dried it for the winter, and from the skins they made bags and sandals and other articles. Ram's flesh they minced and distributed at feasts, and if any man could not finish his portion, "he puts it up into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square buget, which they use to cary about with them for the saving of all such provision, and wherein they lay up their bones, when they have not time to gnaw them thoroughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought."

The Tartars hunted various animals but showed some dis-

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cretion in what they ate, for "they wil neither eate mise with long tailles, nor any kinde of mise with short tailles." They did, however, eat a small hibernating animal that they called "sogur" and also "a kind of conies having long tayles like unto cats: and on the outside of their tailles grow black and white haieres." They also hunted roes and wild asses and a beast that they named "artak," which had a body like that of a ram and enormous crooked horns. It was probably either the Cretan Sheep or the Argali. They were skilful falconers and carried their falcons on their right hands after the Eastern manner, whereas in Europe the falcon was always carried on the left hand, and is so carried even to the present day.

The Tartars evidently did a brisk trade with neighbouring races, for they had much rich clothing and many furs which they could only have obtained by barter. The native skins were those of the wolf and dog and of the domestic animals.

They were a broad-faced people who shaved their heads in a curious manner. The women wore a headdress made of bark or some light material and pointed like a pinnacle. They put canes crowned with feathers into the top of this hat and bound the whole firmly on their heads. "Here-upon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces upright: for the said Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce over it."—"These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, and the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube over their sweet faces with grease too shamefully."

The duties of the sexes were carefully distinguished. The women loaded the carts, dressed and sewed the skins, and made apparel. They also milked the cows, but the mares were always milked by men. The men made weapons and trappings for their horses; they built the houses and carts and churned the cosmos. Neither sex ever washed their clothes, believing that the gods would be offended and would bring thunder-storms upon them if they did so.

Their marriage customs were curious, though a parallel can be found to-day in many parts of the world. William

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de Rubruk writes: "When any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth unto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father unto the bridegroom: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her where-soever you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, and having found her hee must take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently unto his owne house." Parents always sold their daughters in marriage "whereupon sometimes their maids are very stale before they be married."

The embassy had no easy time in front of it. The Tartars had little respect for the foreigner and, as the monks travelled as a private party, they received no preferential treatment. The first band that they met began "impudently to beg our victuals from us" and kept them waiting for a long time before giving them horses and oxen and two men to guide them to Sartach.

William de Rubruk had nothing good to say of them, and his comments are eloquent in their brevity. "Then they said that I was a very varlet." (When he had refused to give them the major part of his possessions) "True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they wil beg that which they see very importunately and shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought upon them, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme themselves lords and think y^t nothing should be denied them by any man. If a man gives them nought and afterward stands in neede of their service, they will do right nought for him." And again: "And so we departed from them. And in very deed it seemed to me y^t we were escaped out of the hands of divels. On the morrow we were come unto the captain. From the time wherin we departed from Soldaia, till we arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we never lay in house or tent, but alwaies under the starry canopy, and in the open aire, or under our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graves of the Comanians in great abundance."

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When the party met the lodges and carts of a local chief named Scacatai (who was a relative of Baatu) they appeared like a moving city, surrounded by vast droves of horses and oxen and large flocks of sheep, all controlled and driven by a few men.

Here again large presents were expected, not only by Scacatai but also by the interpreter, who demanded a rich garment and was very dissatisfied when he was refused. The monks had not come prepared with presents of great value, not anticipating that such would be required, and all they could give was wine, fruits and "bisket bread."

These trifles were not enough to satisfy Scacatai. "Notwithstanding we entred into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate upon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, having annointed the very same place with a black ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most ugly in our eies."

The interview seems to have been very similar to many others which followed whenever important men were encountered. The monks never varied in their story. They said that they were taking the Word of God to Sartach who had, as they were informed, adopted the Christian faith, and that, being monks and forbidden by the rules of their order to carry valuables, they could not give the valuable presents that might be expected of them.

They had letters to Scacatai but, being in Greek, these had to be sent to Soldaia to be translated, and the embassy stayed with Scacatai until the messengers returned. During this time the monks were visited by many Christians who, being so far from the headquarters of the church, required information as to various matters of ritual. The chief difficulty was that, in the opinion of the Russian Christians, no Christian should drink cosmos, without which life was almost impossible in that barren country. William de Rubruk did not agree with the Russian view.

Money was useless, for the Tartars would only barter

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for garments or cloth, "of the which kind of marchandise wee had none at all." They were therefore unable to buy food and were reduced to great straits. William de Rubruk says: "Neither did they allow us any foode but cowes milke onely which was very sower and filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting unto us. For the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine bisket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining unto us, we had undoubtedly perished."

After staying with Scacatai for some time the embassy was allowed to depart en route for Sartach. They were given three men; one to guide them to Sartach, and two to take them to the next village "which was distant from that place five dayes journey for oxen to travell. They gave unto us also a goat for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, and but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them."

Almost at once their servants began to steal, and the unhappy monks lost much of their property. At last they arrived at the next camp which seemed to be inhabited by lepers. Here they were somewhat better treated, for they gave the natives a box of fruits and bisket and received in exchange "eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine us in so great a journey" (it was fifteen days to the next camp) "and I know not how many bladders of milke."

They reached the next camp in ten days, so they must have made good speed. During this time they found no water except two small rivers. After leaving the Province of Gasaria "we travailed directly Eastward, having a Sea on the South side of us, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty dayes journey in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor any stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture."

The journey was thoroughly unpleasant. The Tartars were dirty, inquisitive, and untrustworthy. There were few habitations, and those they entered were such that they would rather have avoided them. "So long as we were travelling through the desert, it went reasonably well with

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us. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irksome and tedious troubles which I susteined, when I came at any of their places of abode." Their guide, also, urged them to give presents to every captain that they met, and their means would not allow of this. Their food ran short, chiefly through the Tartar guides' voracity. "The flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate under our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselves into our companie, that they would even tread upon us, to see whatsoever things we had." And they had other manners—or lack of them—which can well be omitted.

The interpreter seems to have been the direct ancestor of many that exist to-day. He did not interpret. This ill-faith stung the ambassador to the quick, for it struck at the root of his journey. "But above all things it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would utter ought unto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it was which he saide, For I perceived afterward, when I began to have a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoever came next unto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traveiled with great toile from lodging to lodging" until finally they reached the bank of the River Tanais, which is now the Don.

At the point where they struck the river a ferry, manned by Russians, had been established by Baatu for the transport of merchants and others who had business with the Tartars. "First they ferried us over, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, having bounde both lyters together, and so they rowed them over."

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Here again the interpreter proved his incompetency, for he sent back their beasts and then expected the Russians to provide others. This they refused to do, saying that they were only ferrymen, so that the party was delayed for three days. They were given much fish and a little bread and meat. William de Rubruk describes the river as being the Eastern limit of Russia and rising in the "fennes of Maeotis, which fennes stretch unto the North Ocean." It was a well-wooded river, and the Tartars did not ascend it beyond the ferry. The party was there about the beginning of August which was the time when the Tartars began their trek South before the winter.

All the inhabitants were reaping rye, and the embassy was "driven to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither horses nor oxen for any money." At last they were able to continue their journey and for three days they met no one. They were running low in provisions and their oxen were getting played out when, on the fourth day, they again fell in with some Tartars. They "rejoyced like sea-faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recoverd the haven." The monk is not given to the use of superlatives, so they must have been at a very low ebb. From then on they managed rather better. They were sent from lodge to lodge until, about the fifteenth of August, they reached Duke Sartach himself.

Then follows a description of the country and people between Don and Volga. It was a fertile country, inhabited by various peoples whose chief possessions were hogs, honey, skins, and falcons.

Sartach had a large court some three days' journey from the Volga. He had six wives, and his eldest son had three, each of whom had a large house and two hundred carts. The party was taken to an official whose duty it was to entertain ambassadors. Having learnt by experience, they at once apologized for not having brought presents. Their excuse that, being monks and having abandoned their own property, they could not, therefore, bring presents for others, was accepted, and they were well

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treated. This official was well acquainted with affairs in Western Europe, for there were many from all nations at the court.

On the following morning the party was ordered to attend the Duke, bringing with them their vestments. "Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestiments to bee laide forth."—"At the sight whereof, he demanded whether I would bestow all those things upon his Lord or no? Which saying made me to tremble, and grieved me full sore." On their refusal to do this they were ordered to robe themselves and to appear before the Lord Sartach.

"Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Majesty gave me, and a most beautiful Psalter, which the Queen's Grace bestowed upon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the clearke having put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so wee came unto the presence of his Lord." They were warned not to touch the threshold, which was accounted a most unlucky thing to do, and they entered singing a benediction.

Sartach and all his wives were present and many rich Tartars, who pressed about them. The censer and Psalter and Bible were all inspected and various questions were asked concerning them. The ambassador presented his letters which were translated by a Knight Templar who was then at the Court.

On the following day the party was despatched to Baatu. They were told to leave two carts with their vestments and books behind, but this William de Rubruk refused to do, as he wished to leave all his carts and to take his vestments and books.

The priest who had been sent for the carts seized everything. "Howbeit Coiat (their official host) had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with us, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but

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the said priest tooke them from us by violence, saying : thou hast brought them unto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them unto Baatu? And when I would have rendred a reason, he answered : be not too talkative, but goe your wayes. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience : for wee could have no accesse unto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe us justice. I was afraide also in regard to the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide unto him : for his will was good that we should have given away all that wee had." The monks wisely removed all the books that they had not already exhibited, but some, which were certain to be missed, they had to leave.

Among the tribes whom they now visited were those known as the Kara-Catayans or Black Cathayans, who "dwelt upon certaine Alpes, by the which I travailed." It is not easy to place these people exactly, but one can be fairly sure that the "Alpes" were the Sarpa Hills, for the party on their outward journey did not go so far South as the mighty Range of the Caucasus. They could not have seen the Elburz Mountains, which lie to the South and are really the extreme Western end of the Himalayas. In the map we still see the word "Kara," meaning black, applied to many peoples to the South and East of the Caspian.

The party now heard for the first time of Prebiter, or Prester, John, but they could not find anybody who knew much about him, and they concluded that he was a much overrated person. He was a shepherd who became powerful and seized a large tract of land. His brother, Vut, was chief of a village named Kara-Carum, some three weeks' journey from Prester John. This may well have been the stretch of land, now called Kara-Kum, lying to the South and East of the Caspian. If so, the redoubtable Prester John must have inhabited the country to the South of the Caucasus and on the North edge of Persia. He could not have been farther to the East, for William de Rubruk says that he subsequently travelled along the edge of his country.

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During the journey the monks were in great fear of horse thieves who infested the country to the North of the Caspian. They also suffered much from hunger. "For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed us, but once onely a little Cosmos." And again: "In this journey wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with us." At last they reached the Volga flowing into the Hircan Sea. He describes the sea with some accuracy together with the tribes inhabiting its shores. All the land from the Caucasus to the North as far as "the Fennes of Maeotis" and the Sea of Azov and to the North "was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true, as I understand by divers, who tolde me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength."

The party was ferried over the Volga as it had been over the Don, and proceeded towards Baatu, who was then travelling South before the approaching winter. They were taken downstream in boats. On the banks of the river "there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere unto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea." This is now Astrakhan.

The Court of Baatu was a vast city of tents some three or four leagues in extent. Every tent had its appointed place; the court was in the midst and opened towards the South, in which direction a clear space was kept. The monks were housed for the night but were given no food, and in the morning they were commanded to attend the court. "Then led he us unto his pavilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account instead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habits bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes."

"Baatu himselve sate upon a seate long and broad like unto a bed, guilt all over, with three staires to ascend

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thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him." The men and women in the tent sat wherever there was room. "Also, at the very entrance of the tent, stode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of silver, and golde, beeing richly set with precious stones."

The ambassador knelt on both knees and delivered his message in the form of a prayer. In spite of the interpreter he succeeded in being understood. After some conversation he was given cosmos to drink, which was accounted a great honour. Ultimately the clerk was sent back to Sartach while the other two, with the interpreter, stayed with Baatu. For five weeks they descended the Volga. They were given no horses and had to proceed on foot. Food was scarce and the market attached to the town too far to be reached on foot. After suffering much privation they encountered persons to whom the Minorites' order was known, and they were given food and assistance.

Baatu sent them to Mangu-Can, a chief living at a considerable distance, and about the middle of September, one came to them who said: "I am the man that must conduct you to Mangu-Can, and wee have thither a journey of foure moneths long to travell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe even rive asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to advise your selves, whether you be able to indure it or no. Unto whome I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shal be able to brooke that which other men can indure."—"Afterward he caused us to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoever hee deemed to be lesse needfull for us, he willed us to leave it behind in the custodie of our hoste. On the morrow they brought unto ech of us a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnnes, with the woll still upon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also or buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skinnnes after their maner."

The party then started to the Eastward and travelled

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continuously past savage tribes, across the Iagac River, now called the Ural, and into the Kirghiz Steppes to the North-Eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

They travelled fast, obtaining horses from the Tartars whom they met, but sometimes seeing none for days together.

William de Rubruk describes the journey thus: "travelling almost every day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were provided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twice or thrise in a day. Sometimes we travailed two or three days together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For every one tooke their choice of the best horses before us. They provided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent and heavy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments upon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of us to ride upon one horse."

"Of hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gave us no victuals, but onely in the evening. In the morning they used to give us a littel drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the evening they bestowed flesh upon us, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and every man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were marvellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke." And again: "Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our journeis end: because we could not then conveniently gather together the dounge

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of horses or oxen : for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places."

At last they turned South. They left the plains and, for eight days, passed through mountainous country, reaching a well-watered and cultivated land under the shadow of "huge high mountains." This place was watered by a river that "was swallowed up by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth," and was diverted by sluices to water all the land. Here vines grew, and wine was made. The monks asked the name of these mountains and were told that they were the Caucasus, which was impossible, for they had crossed the Volga and were to the East of the Caspian Sea.

In a few days they arrived at the country of the Kara-Catayans, and found a mighty river over which they were obliged to sail. And they found a mud fort, and in that place also the land was tilled. "The day following, having passed over the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, having high mountains on our right hande, and on the left hande of us a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes journey in circuite." Clearly this was the Sea of Aral. And they came to a great city named Cailac "wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it." Here they waited fifteen days while Baatu's secretary transacted business. The country was called Organum, and the inhabitants spoke their own language and had a "peculiar kinde of writing." They wrote in vertical lines from left to right after the fashion of the Chinese. "They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing upon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported unto me." The city had temples with idols, the first that the monks had seen, and the inhabitants were of many faiths, some Christian, some Saracen, and some whose religion was unknown.

Farther to the East was the Tangut nation, of whom the monk says : "These people of Tangut have oxen of great strength, with tailes like unto horses, and with long shagge

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haire upon their backes and bellyes. They have legges greater then other oxen have, and they are exceedingly fierce.”—“And their hornes are slender, long, straight, and most sharpe pointed insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them.” These must have been Tibetan yaks, for this country adjoins Western Tibet.

William de Rubruk next tells of the Tibetans in the following words: “Next unto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they have left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious unto al other nations. Notwithstanding unto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their jollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it.”

The account contains impossible tales of countries beyond the party's reach, and ends (except for the part unfortunately lost) with a story of Cathay whence silks are obtained and in which stands a town “having walles of silver, and bulwarks or towers of golde.” China was very much a terra incognita in those days.

We can learn nothing of the return journey. We leave him with winter coming on, a stranger in a strange land, bound on a mission of which no man could foretell the end. That he returned in safety we know. But when, and in what manner? Was he sent back in state, his mission triumphantly accomplished, or did he crawl home years afterwards, broken in health by the hardships he had undergone?

We can only conjecture—and hope.

TOWARDS THE OBI RIVER IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY



TOWARDS THE OBI RIVER

TOWARDS THE OBI RIVER IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

IN 1554, Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor, then king and queen of England, granted a charter to certain " gentlemen adventurers " to trade with the Russians and with the people of the neighbouring lands. The charter is a long and formidable document which need not be considered here, but the list of the founders of the great " Russia Company " is perhaps worth quoting. The charter describes them thus : " Our right trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloved Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our housholde, John Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England etc." Among them also, though not named in the charter, was Sebastian Cabot, who, together with his famous father John Cabot, had discovered Labrador in 1497.

Russia was little known in those days and the countries surrounding it were not known at all, so that exploration in search of fresh markets necessarily formed an important part of the company's development, and many were the voyages of discovery carried out under its auspices.

A large part of the trade with Russia was shipped to the Port of St. Nicolas, now Archangel, whence it was conveyed to Vologda and so into the heart of Russia.

The name of Stephen Burrough is lost among those of the greater discoverers of the Elizabethan era, whose more spectacular voyages have blinded posterity to much worthy work worthily performed. In the summer of 1556 Stephen Burrough voyaged into the Arctic on behalf of the company in an attempt to discover the outfall of the " River of Ob," in which voyage he displayed all the daring and fine seaman-

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ship for which the seamen of the period were so justly famous. Few, however, now know so much as his name.

Navigation in those days was not the precise science that it is now. The instruments were crude; there was no means of finding the longitude; charts were unknown. They had the compass, which probably had little deviation in the wooden ships; they could find the latitude; and they had the lead, both deep sea and hand, which they armed with tallow to find the nature of the bottom as we do now. "Full speed ahead, by guess and lead" was their motto, and what they lacked in knowledge they made up for in skill and courage.

Stephen Burrough had already been to the White Sea, so that the coast of Norway was familiar to him. Three years earlier he had been master of the *Edward Bonaventure* in Sir Hugh Willoughby's disastrous voyage, when she was the only vessel that returned, Sir Hugh and his companions being frozen in and dying of cold and starvation in the long Arctic winter.

The *Edward Bonaventure* was a ship of 160 "tunnes" and was used again on this occasion. Stephen Burrough sailed in her as far as Wardhouse, now Vardo, before he transhipped to the "pinnesse called the Serchthrift" to continue his voyage, and we can only guess what her size was, but she must have been very small.

They had a good send-off. "We departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April."—"The 27 being Munday, the right Worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboard our Pinnesse at Gravesende, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen"—"And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in the company great cheere: and for very joy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discovery, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company": Sebastian Cabot was then seventy-six years of age.

The ships were a long time in clearing the London River, but on Friday, the 15th of May, they were within seven leagues of the Norwegian coast, "the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe." Stephen Burrough has a

happy trick of giving the time by the bearing of the sun, and continues : " and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth Northnorthwest, North and by West, and Northwest and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat." His " plat," or chart, was a primitive affair that was more likely to wreck the vessel than to save her.

Space forbids us to follow his survey of the Norwegian coast in detail, but he was as thorough as was possible in those days. Two examples may be quoted. The first was on the 7th of June, and reads : " the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe; the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race over the flood : the Bay is at least two leagues over : so doe I imagine from the fayre foreland to Corpus Christi poynt ten leagues Southeast and by East : it floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea." And on the following day : " At this poynt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a ful sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosses Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues : point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune Eastsoutheast, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers."

His entry " at a South and by West moone full sea," and " a South Moone maketh a full sea," evidently refer to the " High Water Full and Change " of the modern tide tables. These and many more would form a valuable guide for the next comers, and his diary throughout reads like an ancient ship's log, giving minute details of his own navigation and full sailing directions for those who follow him.

The ships passed up the coast of Norway, avoiding the " Lofoot " Islands and the dangerous Maelstrom, which is not mentioned. In other travellers' stories we read of this. In the following year Anthony Jenkinson describes it in these words : " Note that there is between the said Rost Islands and Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe untill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible

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noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreover, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them have bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised."

They rounded the North Cape and reached Wardhouse, or Vardo, in light winds and misty weather. Here Stephen Burrough transhipped into the *Serchthrift*, leaving the larger vessel to take her cargo to St. Nicolas for Russia. On the 7th of June they encountered heavy mist and ice and finally lost sight of the *Edward Bonaventure*. They put into the River Kola, where is now the port of Alexandrovsk, and lay there until the 11th, when a Russian "lodia," rowing twenty oars, arrived. The Russians said that they were bound for the Pechora River and they exchanged presents.

While lying here Stephen Burrough sent a boat ashore for repairs with a carpenter and three men, who were weather-bound for three days without food. "All that time they were without provision of victuals, but onely a little bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to have come aboard when they had listed, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes as they could finde then above ground, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queasie stomackes."

They rode out the gale and, after getting their four men on board again, put to sea but were forced to return, for the gale had not spent itself. During this time many Russian lodias came down the river, all bound for the Pechora. Stephen Burrough made friends with one man, named Gabriel, with whom he exchanged presents and who told him that it was seven or eight days' sail to Pechora.

On the 22nd of June they all left the Kola and made sail. The lodias ran ahead, but Gabriel waited for his new friends and proved a very useful pilot. They crossed the entrance of the White Sea to the mouth of the Mezen River, and lay

off a creek which nearly dried at low water. They were on a lee shore and in a bad position if the weather grew worse. "Although the harborough were evil, yet the stormie similitude of Northerly winds tempted us to set our sayles, and we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such journeis varieties do chance, when we came upon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shrink so suddenly upon us, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could have flatted the shippe before the winde, we should have bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker under our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to have warpt in." The Russians came out to help them, from whom they borrowed two anchors. "Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to have warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted upon ye said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in upon the other small anker that Gabriel had sent aboard, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we traversed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate to sea to our friend, and tried out al that day with our maine corse."

The Russians recovered both anchors.

For many days they worked to the North on the tides and with little wind intending to round "Caninoz" point, which is now Cape Kanin. The Russians were still in the neighbourhood and their friend Gabriel helped them again. They were caught on a lee shore in a North-North-Westerly gale off Cape Kanin when he appeared and led them thirty leagues to the East and South into "an harborough called Morgiobets." This may well have been under the lee of Marjovets Island, where they moored their ship. Here they met their first Samoyede, who was brought on board by the faithful Gabriel.

They weathered Cape Kanin and passed to the South of Kolguev Island, which Stephen Burrough describes as hav-

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ing a sandbank seven leagues long on its East side trending East by South. On the following day they crossed the bar of the Pechora River in one fathom of water. Here Stephen Burrough observed the variation of the compass and found it to be three and a half degrees Westerly. His latitude was 69 degrees 10 minutes, North. All the land was sandhills, and the rise and fall of the tide was four feet, and "at a Southwest moone a full sea."

On the 20th of July they put to sea again and crossed the bar in five feet of water. There was no breaking water to show them the banks, and they thought that they had missed the narrow channel, but "thanke God that our ship did draw so little water."—"When we were a seaboord the barre the wind scanted upon us, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the floods to the windewards, and made our way Eastnortheast."

On the following day they saw a "monstrous heape of ice," and "within a little more than halfe an houre after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarse." And on the next day they again encountered ice, but "weathered the head of it" in a gale of wind from the North-North-East.

On the 25th of July they had other adventures. "The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboord of us, so neere to our side that we might have thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should have overthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of us shouted, and with the crie that we made he departed from us: there was as much above water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse, and at his falling downe, he made a terrible noyse in the water."—"But God be thanked, we were quietly delivered of him."

Soon after escaping the whale they saw islands and went to them. Here they met with a Russian whom they had

seen before. He told them that they had missed the way to the Ob, and that these islands were called Nova Zembla and contained the highest mountain in the world. He was in a hurry to depart for the year was far spent. The gift of some small trifles, however, persuaded him to stay, and he gave them seventeen wild geese. Later on, as they worked to the Eastwards, they met more Russians all homeward bound.

At the end of July they anchored in a Northerly gale under the lee of the Vaigatz Islands, and there was so much ice driving in that there was no hope of getting to sea.

August opened with a bitter storm from the West with much snow, which they rode out "with two ankers ahead." When the gale abated they went to another island to the East-North-East where they saw a great heap of Samoyede idols "which were in number above 300, the worst and most unartificiall worke that ever I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women and children, very grosly wrought, and that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinkled with blood." These Samoyedes were not so dangerous as those of the Ob, who were cannibals and killed everyone who came to them. They lived in tents and had deer-skin canoes, and their only animals were deer. They were skilful archers and lived on the meat of bears and foxes and deer that they hunted and shot.

While at anchor on the 4th of August they saw an ice-berg approaching and had to weigh and proceed at once if they would escape being sunk, and on the 7th "we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruell storme. The ice came in so abundantly about us at both ends of the Island that we road under, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hayle plenty."

For the next fortnight they had mists and bad weather with much rain. This culminated on the 19th when "at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had endured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able

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to brooke such monstrous and terrible seas." Their estimated position was then some fifteen leagues to the North of the Western edge of the Pechora River.

Two days later Stephen Burrough gave up any hope of reaching the Ob that year and decided to return. He gives three reasons for this: firstly, because of the continual Northerly and North-Easterly winds; secondly, because of the "great and terrible abundance of ice," into which they had already adventured too far; and thirdly, "because the nights waxed dark, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes."

For the next week they worked back along the ice, in mist and intermittent gales, trusting to luck and lead, until they passed to the North of Kolguev Island and ran down its Western side looking for an anchorage, but finding none. They cast to sea again in blinding snow and carried on towards the West. Mists and gales and snow were their portion as they rounded Cape Kanin and anchored under its lee. Here they fished and, for a while, had peace, but not for long. The "winde began to blow stormie at Southwest, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South southwest." They were on a dead lee shore and had to claw off as best they could. The position was bad; they were making two or three points lee-way and had no harbour for a hundred miles, but it was not worse than they had faced before, and again they escaped by luck and good seamanship.

But their trials were nearly over. On the next day, the 1st of September, they sounded and "found 20 fathoms and broken Welkeshels." Cape Kanin was twenty-four leagues to the North-North-East of them. They were well into the White Sea and were running down to St. Nicolas where they could winter and prepare for a fresh attempt in the following year. This, however, was never carried out, for they were occupied all the next summer in seeking tidings of some lost English ships whom Fortune had not treated as kindly as she had Master Stephen Burrough in his "pinnesse Serchthrift."

THE VOYAGE OF MASTER ARTHUR
PET AND MASTER CHARLES
JACKMAN TO THE ARCTIC IN
THE YEERE 1580



THE VOYAGE OF MASTER ARTHUR PET AND MASTER CHARLES JACKMAN

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ON the 20th of May, 1580, eight years before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the Governors of the "company of English Merchants" issued a commission to "Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe" and "Charles Jackman of Popler" to explore to the North-East and to find new markets for British trade.

They appointed Pet to be the "Captaine, Master, and Chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the *George* of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes," and Jackman to be similarly in command of the "*William* of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes." Pet was to be the admiral "to weare the flagge in the maine top," and Jackman was the vice-admiral. The crew of the *George* consisted of nine men and one boy, and that of the *William* of five men and one boy. Each captain was given a "plat," or chart, showing as accurately as was known the trend of the coast round the North Cape as far as Vaigatz Island to the South of Nova Zembla. A few years previously Captain Burrough had explored thus far, and the strait between Vaigatz and Nova Zembla still bears his name. Beyond lay terra incognita, and little more is known to this day.

The company's orders were almost incredible. These two little ships, the larger not half the size of a North Sea trawler nor nearly such a good sea boat, with their sixteen intrepid men and their two boys, were to discover a North-East Passage to the mythical empire of Cathay by way of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean.

If necessary, they were to winter in the Arctic and to continue their voyage in the following year, and to this end they

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were to note any convenient wintering place that they might pass during the summer. They were well provisioned for a long cruise, and their orders read: "seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and upwards, which you may very wel make to serve you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to adventure in proceeding upon your discovery."

[Their subsequent work proved that they needed no urging to greater boldness.

They were to survey all the coasts as they went along, keeping the land in sight as far as possible. They were to prove whether "Willoughbies land," named after Sir Hugh Willoughby who had recently perished with all his ship's company while wintering in those waters, was part of Nova Zembla or not, but above all, they were to make Easting continuously until they reached "to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same unto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them." They were to follow the land as it trended North or South in the hopes of finding a clear passage between the latitudes of 70 and 80 degrees North. They were to investigate the possibilities of trade whenever they came across any natives, and they carried letters from the Queen to any rulers whom they might meet. The ships were laden with trade goods, and they were expected to return home in two years' time with their holds full of costly Eastern merchandise.

[Their instructions contained these words: "But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the river Ob, extende it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the poole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to saile that way to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discover this Summer, having care to finde out by the way a convenient place for you to Winter in, the which (if you may discover the same lande of Asia this Summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and upwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the river of Ob, or as neere the

same river as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, etc. do you gently entreat with them as aforesaide."

Besides these orders they were given a set of notes and sailing directions by William Burrough, who was himself an explorer of the Arctic.

He directed them to keep a log, or journal, and to note in it every detail of their course, speed, position, the depth of water and the nature of the bottom, and anything else likely to be of interest or value. Every four "glasses," or hours, soundings were to be taken. They were to observe for latitude as often as possible (observations for longitude were unknown in those days), and to note the variation of the compass. They should take compass bearings of all points of land, noting any feature by which they could be recognized and drawing the contours in the blank "plats" they carried for the purpose. The direction and force of the tides with the rise and fall were all to be entered in the logs.

They were told that the promontory of Tabin, which was probably Cape Chelyuskin, the most Northerly point of Asia, was about 1,800 English miles from Wardhouse (now Vardo), and this was not so very far wrong. Nobody knew then that, having reached this point, they had still to go another 1,600 nautical miles through the ice before they reached East Cape and the Bering Strait, and could turn South to the warmer waters of the China Sea. So little was known of the conditions in the Arctic that their advisers wrote that "allowing in a discovery voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is evident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may bee sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time."

Having passed the Promontory of Tabin "it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward, in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous river Oechardes"—which was certainly the Lena—"or some other, which yet I conjecture to passe the renowmed Citie of Cambalu." Cambalu was thought to be some 300 or 400 miles up the Lena and is now beyond identification.

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The instructions continued : " Or els that you shall trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the province of Ania "—which is now Anadyr—" and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay haven, being the chiefe citie in Northern China."

Tientsin, the port of Pekin, was evidently intended, but its position was quite unknown and the sailing directions were hopelessly wrong.

Among the general cargo carried for the purposes of barter were :

" Karsies of all orient colours."

" Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Worsteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flannels, Rash, etc."

" Garters of silke " and " Girdles of Buffe " : " shooes of Spanish leather : velvet shooes and pantophles : nightcaps " and pewter, English and Venetian glass, spectacles of the common sort and " others of Christall trimmed with silver." Hour glasses, combs, linen, and " Glazen eyes to ride with against dust "; knives, needles and buttons, with many other things.

The merchants showed their shrewdness in their remarks. Part of the cargo was to be " boxes with weights for gold, and of every kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisdom, and of certaine government settled here."

" All the severall silver coyne of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the governours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more than you imagine."

Even unemployment was considered, for they carried " deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting." And again : " Knit stocks of Jersie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke."

They were wise and thoughtful men, for they said : “ in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more woorth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.”

To entertain “ persons of credite ” they took with them “ marmelade, sucket, prunes damaske, dried pearces, walnuts, olives to make them taste their wine, the apple John that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits, hullocke and sacke.”

Books and maps were taken, with parchment, glue, red ochre and soap, and “ Blacke conies skins. To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.” Copper spurs and hawks’ bells also, with seeds, metals and tools.

Then comes a prudent note. “ That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeavour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.”

The ships were to bring home seeds and dried plants, with a map of the country and “ some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there before it was devised in Europe as some write.”

Even men were merchandise, for they were to bring home a native, even though they left one of their own men in exchange. The company called for loyal service “ even unto death,” and they got what they demanded.

Everything was to be noted. All details of the native ships and ordnance : “ whether they have any calivers, and what powder and shot. To note what armour they have. What swords. What pikes, halberds, and bils.”

The instructions were full of wise counsel. “ Take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse. For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come : so false and Sophisticate com-

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modities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion."

The story of the voyage is told by one, Hugh Smith, who sailed in the *George* under Captain Pet.

At three o'clock in the morning on the first day of June the two little ships sailed from Winterton, near Harwich. They lost sight of each other on the sixth and, four days later, Captain Pet made his landfall on the Norwegian coast. On the 22nd they doubled the North Cape and coasted along to the Eastward until they reached Vardo on the 23rd. There they anchored to await the *William*, who arrived at one p.m., only ten hours later.

On the next day the *William* had to be beached "because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage." Probably she leaked through having strained her sternpost, for they had trouble with it later, when in the ice. It was not a long job, however, for they launched her again at midnight and lay windbound with Easterly winds for another six days. During this time the *Toby* sailed for London carrying the last letters that they expected to send for the next two years.

In the evening of the 1st of July they got under way with a Westerly wind, but by the following morning it had backed again into the old quarter, and the two vessels lay close-hauled to the Southward. Their course was about East-South-East along the land, but the wind came round to the Southward, so they went about and stood boldly out into the Arctic Ocean, close-hauled on the starboard tack.

The *William* was soon in difficulties again, for the story reads: "About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the *William*, who was willing to goe with *Kegor*"—*Kegor* was a little East of Vardo on the Lapland coast—"because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to master Jackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Verove Ostrove, or

Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast."

So they proceeded for the next two days, noting their courses and soundings, their daily observations for latitude placing them on about the seventieth parallel. They were threshing against head winds and sea all the time for, though the wind was constantly shifting, its general direction was from the East, which was right in their teeth.

On the 5th of July "we saw land, but could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it."

On the 6th they met with their first ice, and from then onwards they were rarely free from it. The wind dropped and "we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare us of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleare of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards."

On the next day they came across more ice, this time under their lee with land in the distance behind it, and they "halde a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by East northeast." And we read: "The same morning at sixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northwest."

They got through by the evening of the 8th, having been jammed for thirty-six hours, and continued their course Easterly. Soon they saw "a shadow of land" and altered course towards it till they found "that it was but fogge."

They carried on, running along the seventieth parallel until they sighted real land on the 10th of July and "all this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it." In the evening things improved a little and they sent their boat in ahead of them to sound. Following the boat shorewards they anchored in a bay under the lee of an island where they got wood and water after being ten days at sea. If their latitude was right, they were somewhere off the Southern end of Nova Zembla by Burrough Strait,

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with Vaigatz Island to the South of them. They could see, however, "a very faire sound or river that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Island in the midst": but no such river is shown at the South end of Nova Zembla.

On the 12th of July, so the story goes, "about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all we could doe, he got to land and escaped from us, where we named the bay Bearebay."

Perhaps it was as well for them that the bear avoided battle.

They put to sea again but were greatly troubled by fog and ice—the two worst dangers that afflict the seaman. They ran into heavy fog which, when it lifted, revealed "great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did us much trouble, and the more because of the fog."

On the 14th "in the morning we were so embayed with ice, y^t we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clocke we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West." They were just North of the seventieth parallel and "we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Nova Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not do upon that boorde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along under the ice. About seven in the afternoone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clocke at night we brought the ice Southeast of us, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time."

They were in very grave danger. The ice ran for miles close under their lee, and the ship was not too weatherly. Unless they could claw to windward to clear the end of the ice-pack they were almost certain to be lost.

For the next eight days they worked up and down the ice-pack trying to get to the Eastward of Vaigatz Island. They were in constant danger from ice and over-falls, with

violent currents and fogs and unknown shoals. They discovered the strait between Vaigatz and the mainland, which is still marked in some maps as Pet Strait. At least once they had to anchor on a lee shore in a fathom and a half of water while they sent in their boat to sound, "and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz and the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, having the wind Northwest, so at twelve at night we set saile."

When they passed the strait is not clear, but, on the 22nd of July, they were running along the shore in a South-west gale "with great fogge." One cannot imagine anything more dangerous. They were short of wood and water and put in under the lee of a small island to replenish their store. They had not seen the *William* since she had put into Kegor to repair, and she was due to meet them about here. By the shore "under two points there was a crosse set up, and a man buried at the foot of it. Upon the said crosse Master Pet did grave his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise upon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the *William* did chaunce to come thither, they might have knowledge that wee had beene there."

On the 23rd they reached an island four or five leagues to the East of Vaigatz, so that they must have passed the strait sometime during the previous week. They "sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great overfals, as great streames or tides." The weather was thoroughly bad. The wind was South-East "with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the South-West to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour us if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather." At noon they hoisted the boat inboard, and it was well for them that they did, for "there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonnets of each." The

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"bonnets" were strips of canvas that were laced to the foot of the sails to increase their area. To take in a reef they unlaced the bonnet.

"This day all the afternoone we sailed under a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelve at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get clear to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we found it cleare hard aboard the shore." Luck was with them, for they found a good harbour with twelve fathoms of water.

All the next day they worked to the Eastward, and about noon "were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to have some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice."

In the evening at last they saw the *William*. "And when wee sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and us, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag upon her fore-topmaste in token that she did see us: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile and maintop-saile, seeking the best way through the broken ice." The *William* followed as well as she could, and during the night they moored the *George* to a piece of ice to wait for her.

Early on the following morning the two ships came alongside each other. The *William* was in a bad way. The old trouble had broken out again worse than before, and they had to repair her as best they could. They were at sea and in the ice, with the constant fear of bad weather and fog, and their seamanship was fine. They did the work so well that she was able to continue her voyage without further mishap. They speak of it with much modesty, but the work, with ropes stiff and frozen in the icy water, must have been deadly. "The *William* had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang clean beside the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, wee brought a cable

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under her sterne, and with our capstaine did winde up her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would give us leave, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gave his majestie thanks for it."

All night they took a well-earned rest, moored and held in the pack ice. The wind was West-North-West, but they were too enclosed to make use of it. They did not enjoy it; they say, " Windes wee have had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise."

They turned to again on the next day, and tried to the Northwards, hoping to find the clear passage that they had been told to seek between the seventieth and eightieth parallels, " but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee coulde goe no further." They secured to the floe again, having only travelled one league. " All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire."

This was the only time during the whole voyage when they even hint at despair. They must have been at a very low ebb, for their cheerfulness and courage were phenomenal.

It was useless to try to the North, so they made for the land again. The ice was very heavy, and for hours they warped their ships from floe to floe. At last they had " a very faire day." It was the first for a month, and the two captains discussed what was to be done. They could not proceed farther. They were gripped in the ice and surrounded by bergs " so great that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe "; the wind was fair for their return; it was late in the season, and the nights were drawing in. There was nothing to be done but to make for Vaigatz again, and they moored for the night to a huge berg.

On the following day, being the 29th of July, they made sail at five in the morning " to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This

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day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afternoone, yet for all this we turned to do our best."

They always did their best, and their best was amazing.

The last two days of July saw them still fast in the ice, warping and working their ships to the South and West, and mooring to the most convenient berg when there was nothing else to do. The tale of the early days of August is the same. Ice, fog, and rain were their portion. The log entries for the period read: "All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still." And: "This day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather being dark with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience." And: "At sixe in the afternoone the wind was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night." And again: "This ice did every day increase upon us."

It was wonderful that the ships were not crushed, but they were as tough as their crews and took no damage.

On the 5th of August they made a little way and "then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further."—"And all the night was very dark with fogge."

For three days the ice held them "labouring onely to defend the yce as it came upon us," but at last it opened a little and they hoped to get clear. On the next day, however, they were caught again, and that night it froze hard and they saw the first star—an ominous sign of approaching winter.

On the 10th "wee with saile and oares made our way through the yce"—"we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much."

"The eleventh day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weakenesse of man Gods strength most appeareth." By the afternoon they were gripped again "and taried the Lordes leasure."

Matters improved on the next day, and they thought that they had seen the end of their troubles, but it was not to last.

Their log for the 13th reads: "all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was marveilous that the ship was able to abide them: the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with us: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, and our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe."

They drifted in the ice all that day and the next, while they repaired the boat and the rudder, and at last, on the 15th, they ran into clear water and were able to make sail. They made a landfall somewhere on the mainland and enjoyed a few comparatively quiet hours, but not many.

By the following day they were again in difficulties. A huge floe off the South-East corner of Vaigatz lay right across their course, but they found a passage inside it along the shore. The weather was "very dark with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fel a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe." The *William* sent a party to haul them off, but they were afloat again and under sail before the party arrived.

For the next few days they got on without mishap, but on the 20th "at twelve of the clocke we were upon the sudaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the *William*, but we had no hurt."—"All night we did our best, but we could not have her aflote." They were off Kolguev Island to the West of Vaigatz, from which, according to Stephen Borrough, the shoals extend for seven leagues. On the next day they lightened the ships and both got afloat again, and then spent much time seeking a way out with their boats taking soundings ahead. At last they cleared the end of the shoals, and then lost sight of the *William* in a heavy bank of fog. They never saw her again.

Now at long last they were finally clear of the ice and

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safely away on their run home. For another three weeks they worked the ship to the Westward round the North of Norway, putting in at intervals until, on the 12th of September, they anchored in "a sound by Lowfoote," which was the Lofoten Islands.

It was very late in the season for the North of Norway, and they suffered from heavy gales as they ran down the coast, until they had to anchor again among the fiords on the 29th. They found a good anchorage, and it was well for them that they did, for "at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine."

October saw them again in trouble. "For from the first of this moneth untill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not thinke it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did drive a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case."

Things were very bad indeed before these men would admit to being "in ill case."

On the 7th they made sail, but had to put back on account of the weather. "And at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storme drove us upon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to save her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God), we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safetie abiding for a wind."

They were weather-bound on the coast for more than a month, and it was not until the middle of November that they were able to get clear. During this time they met with a Danish "kings ship," which kept by them, not for the purpose of rendering help, but in order to obtain victuals. The *George* put to sea, but had to return. "And at our retorne backe againe, we moared our ship in an utter "

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(outer) " sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours."

But their troubles and dangers were almost over. On the 9th of December they picked up *Buquhamnesse*, which is now Buchanness, and on Christmas Day, 1589, they " came to an anker between Oldhaven, and Tilberie hope " having been away for almost six months.

Captain Jackman in the *William* was not so fortunate. In October he arrived at a Norwegian port near Tronhjem, where he wintered, " and from thence departed againe in Februarie folowing, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island " (Iceland): " and since that time he was never heard of."

The North Atlantic in February is no place for twenty-ton ships, even though they be of the best and manned by Elizabethan seamen.

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA, 1588

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA, 1588

“THE Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoveful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.”

The Duke of Parma was waging an unprofitable war against the Dutch. England was the scourge of the Spaniard upon the sea and, geographically, she could make or mar the Duke of Parma's operations. Hence the Great Armada.

For years preparations had been made, “insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.”

To terrify their enemies the Spaniards published every detail of the fleet. Every ship was named, with her tonnage, armament, ammunitiion, captain, crew and soldiers. Every Spaniard of note was mentioned “of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete,” and all hoped, like the Normans five hundred years before them, for wide lands and rich revenues in England. But they were not led by William of Normandy.

The fleet was vast. “The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter

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farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themselves at all assayes." Their upper-works would turn small shot; below, they were from four to five feet thick; and their masts were frapped about with tarred cables to protect them from damage by shot.

"The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do great service with the force of their Ordinance."

The fleet carried an army with a complete commissariat which was to join with that of the Duke of Parma and effect the conquest of both the enemy countries. Only women were not taken: "for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France."

While this great fleet was being prepared in Spain, the Duke of Parma was building ships and digging canals in Flanders. "Hee caused certaine deepe chanel to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee"—"to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled above a hundreth small ships called hoyes."

"In the river of Waten" he had 70 flat-bottomed ships to carry 30 horses each, with bridges for their embarkation, and he had 200 more at Nieuport. At Dunkirk he assembled 28 ships of war loaded with planks and nails and spikes for the building of bridges. At Gravelines he had 20,000 casks for the same purpose, together with timber suitable "for the barring and stopping up of havens mouthes with stakes, posts and other meanes."

Near Nieuport the Duke assembled his army composed of men of all nations, including a band of English renegades.

England and Holland were Protestant, and the Pope

aided the Spaniards. He "published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine bulls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the devill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct." He created an English cardinal and, by a Bull, deprived "the Queenes most sacred Majestie"—"of all princely titles and dignities."

In spite of all this, efforts were made to conceal the true object of the expedition, and a treaty of peace was proposed between England and Spain. Many were deceived, and it was not until the end of May that the King of France definitely warned the Queen that an invasion of her realm was intended and "that she should stand upon her guard."

At last Elizabeth moved. "The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plimmouth under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, etc. Under whom the renowned knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer" (Seymour) "were commanded to lie between Dover and Caleis."

Through all the land troops were mobilized, and "there was at Tilburie in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first."

For fear of internal dissension the Catholic Recusants throughout the land were interned in various places, such as Ely and Wisbech, where they were kept in close confinement but were otherwise well treated.

The Dutch commissioned ninety small warships, well suited to their shallow waters, with which they blockaded all the ports of Flanders from the Scheldt to Calais, and they sent a further thirty vessels to join Lord Henry Seymour who was lying in the Strait.

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On the 19th of May, 1588, the Invincible Armada, under the command of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, sailed from Lisbon for Corunna where they were to ship troops and stores for the voyage.

They were ill-fated from the beginning. "As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle joyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blown over-board."

The four galleys suffered badly. One just managed to crawl into port. The other three were blown on to a lee shore by Bayonne where "by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their governours and souldiers."

A very gallant piece of work, but lost among so many.

The Spaniards took a badly needed rest at Corunna, but, in obedience to King Philip's repeated and peremptory commands, they "hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narow seas or English chanel."

Here they were sighted by Thomas Fleming, the master of an English pinnace, one of many that were out scouting towards the coast of Spain, and by four p.m. of the 19th he was in Plymouth with the news. This apparently created some surprise, for many "considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage."

The English were caught at a bad time, too, for the Queen, hearing that the Armada was no longer to be expected, had ordered four of her finest ships to Chatham.

Lord Howard at once got to work. "With all speed and diligence he warped his ships, and caused his mariners

and souldiers ” (many of whom were absent with the four great ships) “ to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himself was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the haven.” The “ haven ” was then the Cattewater; not the Hamoaze, which is now the Naval port.

On the next day at “ about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth.” In this they “ greatly overshot themselves,” for they would have done better, in the views of seamen of the period, to have taken Plymouth and stayed there until they knew the conditions obtaining in England and had got into touch with the Duke of Parma. This, however, was forbidden them by the express command of King Philip, who had directed them to join forces with the Duke at the earliest possible moment. So precise were his orders that Medina-Sidonia dared not disobey them in the smallest particular. They made no allowance for wind or weather or the manifold chances of such a hazardous expedition: “ It seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes.”

The Spanish captives said that London was to have been taken by small ships that had passed up the Thames “ supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanelly fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter.”

On the “ 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.”

The English fleet, keeping the weather gauge, followed the Spaniards up Channel, closing in to “ within musquet

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shot " of them to fire and then, by their greater weatherliness, luffing and hauling out to windward to reload. "The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimbleness of the English ships in discharging upon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes." This half moon was full seven miles from wing to wing. "And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come up rounder together for the safeguard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill"—"falling foule of another shippe, had her foremast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind."

Lord Howard of Effingham let her lie and passed on after the main body lest he should lose them during the night. Sir Francis Drake, who was supposed to guide the fleet with his stern lantern, headed off after five Easterlings (whom finally he did not touch) and left the Lord High Admiral to fend for himself. "The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger."

There is much elegance in "cleanly conveyed himselfe": one wonders how the Spaniards described the tremendous battle that was actually fought.

On the following day, being the 22nd, Drake found the dismasted galleon and demanded her surrender. This was refused until the Spaniards learnt who was their opponent, "upon which answer Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, beeing mooved with the renoume and celebrite of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them." He took 55,000 ducats out of the ship and sent her into Plymouth, where the crew had to wait a year and a half before they were ransomed.

Another huge ship, loaded with powder, was burnt almost to the water's edge, most of her crew perishing in the flames. "And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed."

On the following night "the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the *Arke-royall*" was again in difficulties. "All that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him." At that time of the year daylight comes in at about three a.m., so that he fought the whole Spanish fleet alone for some thirteen hours.

By Tuesday, the 23rd of July, when the fight had reached Portland, the wind came round to the North and the English lost the weather gauge, but not for long. "But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler Ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before."

They were no cowards, though crippled by their precise instructions and their build. For the last two days they had fought hard though ineffectually, and the issue was still in doubt.

"But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves and to make hast unto the place prescribed unto them." But though they refused action, they were not yet beaten and were still dangerous. "This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete." Captain George Fenner, "a man that had bene

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conversant in many Sea-fights," came to his rescue and saved him from disaster.

As they passed up Channel "out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and countrey." Every little port along the Southern coast from Brixham to Romney vomited ships to take their toll of the Spaniard like wolves round a wounded bull. "And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted unto an hundreth: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes." Fully three hundred ships were fighting furiously in the narrow seas.

On the next day, when they were a little East of Portland, it fell calm and "the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other strategemes."

Chain-shot were deadly against oars, and the slaves suffered fearfully from the kicking of the looms as the flying chains fouled them.

But the English were running short of powder and had to send ashore for supplies. The admiral held a council and divided the fleet into four squadrons under the command of himself, Sir Francis Drake, Captain Hawkins, and Captain Frobisher, four names that, after 400 years, are still household words.

For the next two days they drifted up and down Channel on the tide, having no wind to help them. Lord Howard, with the *Lion*, *Elizabeth Jonas*, *Beare*, *Victorie* and the galleon *Leicester*, "with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the

The Invincible Armada, 1588

very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually



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discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.”

All day long they were closely engaged with the huge unwieldy Spanish ships, and they fought so fine an action

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that Lord Howard, on the following morning, knighted Captain Frobisher, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Captain John Hawkins, and others.

At last on the 27th of July, the Spaniards anchored off Calais, intending later to go on to Dunkirk "expecting there to joyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing." The English fleet "ancred just by them within culvering-shot," and here Lord Henry Seymour, who had been guarding the Straits, joined the main fleet.

The Spanish admiral now got into communication with the Duke of Parma who, "the next day travelling to Dunkerke hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete."

Communication was not easy. The Dutch, under Admiral Justin of Nassau, were blockading every port in Flanders with orders "not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place."

Parma's forces were not ready. He was short of sea-men, and his men were none too willing to put to sea. They could see the blockading fleet "threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night," for none believed it possible to break out "by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven."

The Spanish plans had failed. They had been "grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation" that their enemies would fly, leaving to the Spaniard the command of the narrow seas, "Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their

forces so united, should invade England." Or else that the English fleet should be engaged and drawn away, thus leaving the coast unprotected against the Duke's invasion.

So often has this been tried; so often has it failed.

It was not safe to leave the Spanish fleet at anchor before Calais, so Lord Howard "thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst and basest ships which came next to hand, and disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustibile and fry matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horroure"—"that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising up their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine sea."

Three years earlier at the siege of Antwerp the Spaniards had had bitter experience of fire-ships, and they dared not renew their acquaintance.

"In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure Galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld upon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers." She was heavily battered and finally taken by a party of soldiers under Captain Amyas Preston. Many of her crew were killed in the attack; many jumped overboard and were drowned.

She was a rich prize. "This huge and monstrous

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galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50,000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure."

"Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: " who stood only on their defence.

They had been herded up Channel: they had been driven out of Calais; their junction with the land forces had been prevented; and they had been hammered day and night for ten days by an enemy that they could not catch. In spite of this, they were a powerful and dangerous fleet: far more powerful, in fact, than the English, whom they still heavily outnumbered.

"And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: and so continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them."

"The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account." The English losses were only 100 in all. "Albeit Sir Francis Drakes

shippe was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twice shot thorow."

"The 29 of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie."

The English main fleet followed them until the 4th of August, but did not attack, for they were short of ammunition. They had defeated the enemy and had protected their shores, and they very rightly thought "that they had right well acquitted themselves." The Spanish, though in flight, kept together in good order and, if brought to action, might still put up a very stiff fight in spite of their heavy losses.

Lord Howard of Effingham, when writing to Her Majesty, "freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect."

During the next few days many of the Spanish ships were lost. Three sank during the night following their fearful battering off Gravelines. Two great Portuguese galleons "of seven or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides." The *Saint Philip* had had a mast shot away, and she tried to make the coast of Flanders, but failed. Her officers deserted in a skiff and reached Ostend, leaving the crew on board, who, with the ship, were afterwards captured by the Flushingers.

The *Saint Matthew* had officers of quite another kidney. She was exceptionally strongly built and, though hammered for hours, had taken surprisingly little damage. She had, however, sprung a leak, and was sinking rapidly in spite of the efforts of fifty men continually relieving each other

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at the pumps. "Whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to do."

She could not keep up with the fleet and was left behind. The Captain then tried for the Flanders coast, but met with four or five Dutch men-of-war under Peter Banderduess. He put up a very hard fight, damaged though he was, but at last, after losing some forty men, he was forced to surrender and was taken safely into Zealand. Both vessels sank at their moorings before they could be completely unloaded.

"For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd capitaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very rooffe, it reached downe to the ground."

On the 2nd of August the weather broke in a violent South-Westerly gale and, on the 4th, "with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich: for they had bene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet."

The story reads: "But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder and shot," left a few pinnaces to watch them and returned to port. They refitted and got ready for sea again "but being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and

uncouth Northern seas, and not there to hunt after them." They were right. Northern weather was a far more deadly foe than round shot.

The Spaniards were in a bad way. They were fearfully shattered; their masts and rigging had been cut to pieces by chain-shot; they had lost some 5,000 men already; they had been blown far out of their course towards the North and into utterly strange waters; and they could not refit at any port nearer than Corunna.

"Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules overboard: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61 degrees of Latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues."

Finding himself almost at the Faroe Islands, the Commander-in-Chief ordered all vessels to lay a course for Spain, where he himself, by keeping well to the Westward with about twenty of his least damaged ships, eventually arrived in safety. The remainder, being about forty in all, passed close down the West coast of Ireland and, about the beginning of September, were caught in a South-West gale on a lee shore "where many of their ships perished." A few managed to clear the Irish coast and were blown up Channel again, where they were captured by the English and by the French from Rochelle.

All the Northern coasts were strewn with Spanish ships. England, Scotland, and Ireland, France, Holland, and Norway took their toll, and for generations fragments of Armada spoil were common objects of the seaboard. Out of 134 tall ships which sailed from the Tagus only 53 returned. Of the 91 great galleons, 58 were missing and only 33 returned; of the smaller vessels, "pataches and zabraes," 17 were lost and 18 returned. "In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small."

More than half the complement of the fleet was lost, and of those who got home, many died from the hardships

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that they had undergone. "There was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinseman."

England had passed through a great peril which had been narrowly averted by the skill and valour of her seamen, aided, as they were, by the exceptional gales. During the danger special prayers were read in all the churches, with fasts and supplications. After it, England gave herself up to rejoicing, and the 29th of November was appointed as a public festival and thanksgiving. The Queen rode in triumph into London, attended by her principal officers of state. She went "from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect."

"Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not upon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof."

THE WORTHY ENTERPRISE OF
JOHN FOX, GUNNER OF THE
SHIP *THREE HALFE MOONES*,
1577

THE WORTHY ENTERPRISE OF JOHN FOX,
GUNNER OF THE SHIP *THREE HALFE*
MOONES, 1577

In the year 1563, an English ship "called The three halfe moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall" sailed from Portsmouth bound for Seville with a cargo of merchandise for the purposes of trade. "And falling neere the Streights, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke."

During the sixteenth century a voyage to the ports of Southern Spain, and still more to the Levant, was full of danger both to ship and crew. Every little harbour along the North African seaboard was a nest of pirates. Algiers and Bona, Tunis, Tripoli and Alexandria, held hosts of galleys that were more than a match for a powerful fleet of ships, and to these must be added the galleys of the Grand Turk in Constantinople. In the calm waters and light winds of the Mediterranean the galleys' oars gave them an advantage in manœuvring that more than made up for any inferiority in size and gun-power. They were small vessels, crowded with slaves at the oars below and with fighting men on deck. Being manned by Mahometans, they were all theoretically under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey, but in fact, those occupying the African ports were practically independent. These pests of the sea were not finally rooted out for some hundreds of years, and the great pitched battle of Lepanto in 1571, in which a huge European fleet only defeated the galleys of the Grand Turk after a very hard fight, showed how powerful they were upon the sea.

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The owner of the *Three Halfe Moones* was on board and proved himself to be a brave man with a fine ship's company. He at once cleared for action and so encouraged all hands, in spite of the heavy odds against them, that the galleys were very severely handled before they took the ship. Were they taken, the English knew that they had only the fearful hardships of the oar-bench to look forward to for the rest of their lives, and this fate was justly dreaded as much as the tortures of the Inquisition.

They all prayed to God, and then "every man tooke him to his weapon. Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and every man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so little heart or courage in him." And the battle began.

The Turks lay in a ring round the *Three Halfe Moones* and opened a heavy fire at the full range of their ordnance, so as to damage their foe and reduce her crew before closing in to within musket shot for the small arms and bows.

"Then taketh him to his charge John Fox the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians." They were eight to one, so the fire of the *Three Halfe Moones* had to be divided to keep them all at bay. Few, therefore, took much damage, while the English ship had to bear the concentrated fire of the whole eight.

This could not last, and as the English weakened, the Turks closed in and opened fire with their small arms and bows. In those days and for long afterwards the bow was the most deadly weapon in existence, being loosed far more rapidly than the arquebus and, in the hands of a skilful archer, with at least equal accuracy. And the English were world-famous for their archery. The heavy cloth-yard shaft with its four-barbed head would drive clean through shield and armour at anything like a close range, and the crowded

decks of the Turks were perfect targets for the English bowmen.

Not a shaft was wasted and at once the galleys began to lose men, but they were so numerous and so heavily manned that their losses were not enough to stop them. "But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, and also in doubling their shot so sore upon the gallies, that there were twice so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turkes discharged twice as fast against the Christians, and so long, that the ship was very sorely stricken and bruised under water."

If the ship sank the galleys had had their trouble for nothing. They wanted spoils and slaves, and the only way to get them was by boarding the *Three Halfe Moones*. She was sinking "which the Turkes perceiving, made the more haste to come aboard the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their lives. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast."

The closer the action the better the English fought, and when they were boarded they put up such a fight that the Turks were almost driven back. "For the Englishmen shewed themselves men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bils and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stooode to it so lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant above the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, and to be of good comfort," and counselling them to seek death rather than slavery under the Turks.

This they would have done "but the presse and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so overpressed, that they could not wield

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their weapons : by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to have bene, but rather to have died : except onely the masters mate, who shrunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward.”

In that crew any fear, however slight, was “ notable.”

“ But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoyce, or triumph. Then it would have grieved any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not having any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might have met with such bootie, as might have given them the overthrow : but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serve in new offices : and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their eares, and torne from their backes, and they set to the oares.”

“ I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil judge their fare good, or their bodies unloden of stripes, and pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold.”

Those that lived laboured in the galleys for fourteen years. No words can describe the realities of that existence. Many have tried; no man has ever succeeded. They must remain for the imagination, as the unknown horrors of the Inquisition.

During the summer the galleys were scouring the sea, but at the beginning of winter they all returned to their home ports, where they were laid up for overhaul and repairs. They were beached and hauled up; their masts, sails, oars and guns were landed and housed in great sheds nearby; they were cleared of their stores and water, and were stripped and gutted ready for cleaning down both inside and out. Only one fine galley, known as the *Captain of Alexandria*, was kept afloat and partly ready for sea. She acted as a port guard-ship.

After stripping the galleys the slaves were housed in great barracks near the port, where they were handy for the work

of cleaning down. In this manner John Fox spent fourteen years; his winters in Alexandria, and his summers at the oar-bench.

The port, or roadstead, of Alexandria was "very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare every yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captives and such prisoners as serve in the gallies, are put"—"every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking."

Thus were housed John Fox and the crew of the *Three Halfe Moones* with many other captives. The owner and master, fortunately for them, were soon ransomed, but the rest lived as best they could, shackled and half-starved, for many miserable years. Fox himself was a skilful barber and, by the practice of his craft, was able to do much to ease his lot, and earned at times enough to buy him a square meal. After some years he succeeded in making friends with the captain of the guard, "so that he had leave to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg." Subsequently this privilege was extended to six other prisoners, all of whom had been many years in captivity and who were allowed out "with irons on their legs, and to retorne againe at night."

In the year 1577 the galleys returned to winter quarters as usual and were stripped of their gear "and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turkes force, and were of sixteen sundry nations." Among these were three Englishmen, John Fox, William Wickney, and Robert Moore. To one of these two Fox first made known his ideas of escape. Apparently the rest of the crew of the *Three Halfe Moones* had died or been removed elsewhere.

"Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at

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one side of the citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Unticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene a prisoner about thirtie yeeres." He had always been a quiet man, and was never suspected of harbouring any designs of regaining his liberty. He had, therefore, many privileges that were denied to others and could be proportionately useful to Fox in his efforts to escape. Fox frequented this victualling house and made close friends with Unticaro, until at length "they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their liberty and imprisonment." At last Fox broached his idea and found Unticaro very willing to fall in with it.

For seven weeks they debated it, devising one scheme after another, discarding each in turn, until at length they could find none better than the one that they eventually adopted. It was full of the chances of failure, but all others were the same, and this had at least the possibility of success.

Peter Unticaro's victualling house was a regular meeting place for prisoners out on leave, and they decided to take another five into the conspiracy, thus making eight in all. The last day of December, 1576, was the night fixed for the attempt, and two days before that date, Fox found an opportunity to inform the rest of the prisoners of what was proposed. He had little difficulty in persuading them to join in the plot, "which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Unticaro, charging them that every man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night."

To avoid suspicion Fox and his companions spent a noisy evening with Unticaro and, when the time arrived, sent him to the keeper with a message, as though from one of the masters of the city, asking the keeper to meet him at Unticaro's. "The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede."

"In the meane season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John

Worthy Enterprise of John Fox

Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serve his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house."

By this time the keeper had come near to the house and, observing that all lights were extinguished and that there was no noise, became suspicious. He tried to get away, "and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth unto him: who perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my handes: wherewith he lift up his bright shining sword (cleaned?) of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head clave a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground."

The others who were in the house, then came out and "some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaives hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was."

Having disposed of the keeper they all went quietly to the prison gates where six warders were on guard. Fox replied to the challenge and they all slipped inside, where they fell upon the hapless six and despatched them every one, quickly and noiselessly. They then closed and barred the gates and planted a cannon against them so that none could pass in.

They entered the gaoler's lodge where they found the keys of the fortress and prison by his bedside. These they took together with all the weapons that they could lay their hands on. There was also a chest full of ducats "which this Peter Unticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselves as full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which John Fox would not touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, and not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they

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did it for a good intent." The weight of all this gold in the end proved the undoing of the three.

The eight then went to the prison, where Fox "called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong unto a gallie."

The *Captain of Alexandria* was afloat and had been only partially stripped. She could be quickly got ready for sea, but she was the only one in the port that could.

"At the prison were certaine warders, whom John Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: unto whom John Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Unticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure; and also diverse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine."

It was very hot work. The Turks held the top of the prison in the dark against the savage half-armed slaves, as fit and strong as hard work and privations could make them, coming up to the attack by their scaling ladders. In a hand-to-hand fight of that sort every ounce told and the extra weight of the stolen ducats was fatal to the thieves. This battle nearly proved the undoing of them all for the silence was broken and their escape became known.

"Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let us not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stooode a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the

roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortress which lay on the North side of the roade : so that nowe they had no way of escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so upon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them."

It was touch and go. The only way to sea was out through the narrow entrance of the roadstead, both sides of which were commanded by the guns of the forts, and the garrisons were now fully alive to what was happening.

And they had now no time to waste. The Turks were already hammering at the gates and would soon burst them open. Once that happened, unless they were afloat and clear of the land, their fate was sealed. The few slaves, hardly any of them armed, could never match the thousands of well-armed Turks who would be upon them in a dozen seconds.

"Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoysing up the sayles lustily, yeelding themselves to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather."

After years of slavery they were all expert hands in galley-work, probably more expert even than their late masters. Not a second was wasted : not a mistake was made.

"Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade : now have the two Castles full power upon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke : how can it be avoided ? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is even in the midst, and betweene them both. What man can devise to save it ? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke."

How the Turks missed her, even in the dark, is a mystery.

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She was within point blank range of both sides but the Turkish gunnery was miserably bad.

“ There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundering about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five and forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold forth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe : yea, even when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heaven with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like unto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselves to dresse up the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, cables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them : besides that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat : it could not be but that he must blush for shame, he can speake never a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their God behaved himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeede, and that he was the onely living God : for the seas were swift under his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them.”

Once out of range of the forts they all knelt and gave thanks, after which they manned the oars again and made to sea, trying to reach some Christian land where they would be free from the danger of pursuit and recapture. They had put to sea in heavy weather and this did not improve. They had only the stars to steer by and the wind kept shifting,

driving them from their course until they were utterly lost. They knew that their course was from North to North-West, and that was all.

Their victuals gave out (they had had little enough to start with) and "it might seeme that one miserie continually fel upon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest."

Over two hundred and sixty men at sea for twenty-eight days with barely any food! It was amazing that any at all survived; still more that they only lost eight.

But their voyage was nearly at an end. On the 29th day after their escape they reached the Isle of Candy and landed at Gallipoli, where they were fed and cared for by the Abbot and monks. The monks "kept there the sworde, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious jewell, and hung it up for a monument." And they noted the following certificate: "We the Prior, and Fathers of the Covent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that upon the 29 of January last past, 1577, there came in to the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master John Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chieftest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberties."

After resting and recovering from their privations they left Candy and went to Tarento, where they sold the galley and divided the proceeds. While at Tarento they heard that the Turks had been scouring the seas to find and recapture their slaves but had had to give up the search. This proved to be not quite the case for, on the day following their departure from Tarento, seven Turkish galleys arrived still searching for them.

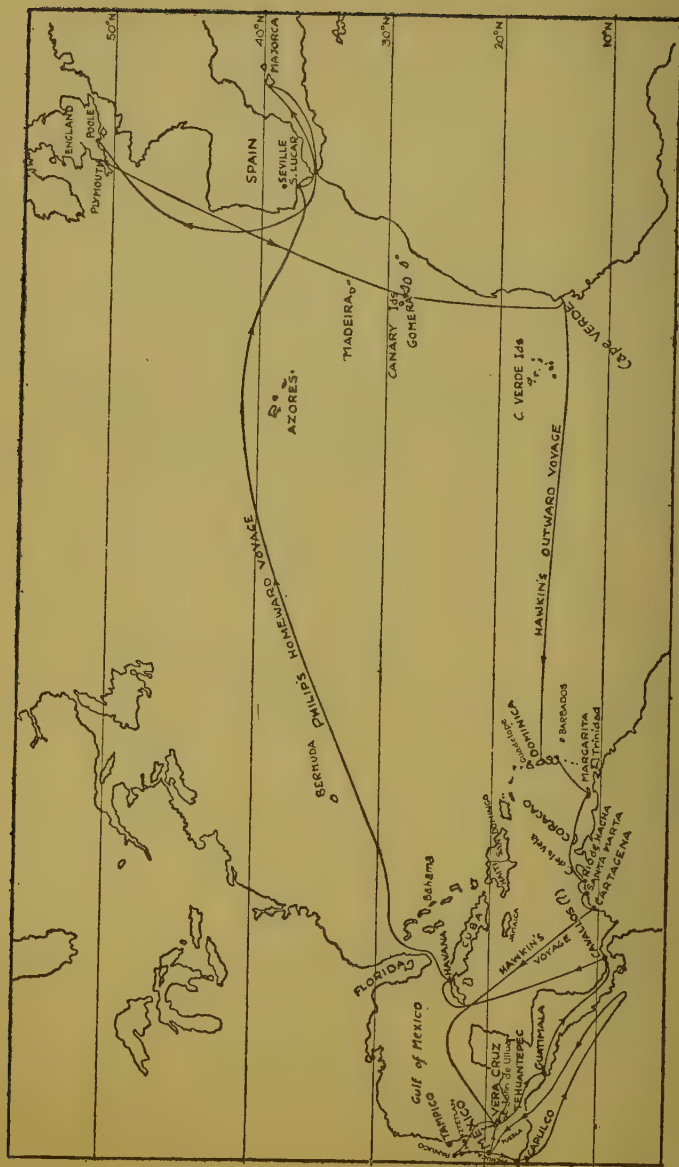
The whole company proceeded on foot to Naples where they separated and each took his several way. Fox went to Rome where he was presented to the Pope, who rewarded him liberally and gave him letters to the King of Spain. In Spain he was equally well received and there he stayed for

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some time, being appointed to the post of gunner in one of the new Spanish galleys with pay at the rate of eight ducats a month.

At last he went home to England where he arrived in 1579, having been away for sixteen years. He was taken to Court and told his story to the council " who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians."

STORY OF MILES PHILIPS, ENGLISH-
MAN, SET ON SHORE IN MEXICO
BY MASTER JOHN HAWKINS, 1568



THE STORY OF MILES PHILIPS, ENGLISHMAN

THE STORY OF MILES PHILIPS, ENGLISHMAN,
SET ON SHORE IN MEXICO BY MASTER
JOHN HAWKINS, ANNO 1568

"UPON Munday the second of October 1567, the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the *Jesus*"—this was Hawkins' famous *Jesus of Lubeck*—"whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the *Mynion*, wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The *William* and *John*, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The *Judith*, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the *Angel*, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the *Swallow* I now remember not."

Miles Philips tells his tale after sixteen years of cruel captivity in Mexico in the savage hands of the Spaniards, so it is not surprising that he forgets some of the details.

The fleet was scattered by a heavy gale off Finisterre which so damaged the *Jesus* that Admiral Hawkins decided to return home, but changed his mind with the improvement of the weather. The ships reassembled at "the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries." They watered there and then proceeded on their voyage until "wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water: and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros."

This was one of the earliest slaving voyages between

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Africa and the West Indies, and it was not altogether successful.

The slaving party went inland some six miles. Then they were attacked by the natives in force and were driven to retire with only a few slaves and with many of their men hurt by poisoned arrows. "There died to the number of seven or eight in a very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open." Evidently tetanus was used, a poison not unknown among savage tribes.

They had captured about 150 negroes when they were invited by a native king, who was fighting with his neighbours, to aid him in his war. The Admiral agreed, and landed with some 200 men. They assaulted the enemy town and burned it and captured eight or nine hundred prisoners. These "our Generall ought to have had for his share," but the negro king "secretly in the night conveyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie."

Having now about 500 slaves Admiral Hawkins stayed no longer, but watered and made sail for the West Indies. As they left the coast "in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage."

"Upon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, having the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard." They took fifty-two days to cross the Atlantic and "upon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica" in the West Indies.

Thence they traded from place to place, "ever making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his governours in those parts not to trade with any." In spite of this they did fairly well and received "courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coracao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the

pearles doe come:).” Here they could neither trade nor water their ships, so Admiral John Hawkins promptly landed 200 men “and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recovering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted.”

This was the English way. If people would trade willingly, well and good; if not, they would be forced to trade. Admiral John Hawkins had goods to sell, so, whether they would or not, people must buy.

Next they visited Cartagena where they could not trade and, after a short stay, left “for the avoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos.” They proceeded North, leaving Cuba to starboard, until “upon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of 8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, and thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. John de Ullua, or Vera Cruz.”

While running for shelter they took and brought in three small ships with passengers whom they treated well.

On their arrival they were thought to be the Spanish fleet and were boarded by the port officials. These they soon undeceived but treated with the greatest courtesy. Admiral Hawkins did not quarrel without good reason unless he had something to gain. England and Spain were theoretically at peace, and the Admiral dared not commit any flagrant act of piracy without some excuse. The Queen would need an answer to the Spanish ambassador's complaint in London. But any excuse would serve. So the Admiral even left the treasure ships alone, which was a sore temptation.

“In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound all which being in our Generall his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at libertie.”

He took two hostages only, and sent a message to the Spanish Viceroy in Mexico city, telling him of his arrival

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and asking permission to repair his ships and to buy victuals and water.

The English fleet had arrived on the 16th of September, and on the following day "wee descried 13. saile of great shippes." This was the main Spanish treasure fleet on its way home crammed with all the wealth of the Indies and Peru. They were estimated to have on board treasure "unto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds."

"And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde." The position was one of much difficulty. Though at peace, the English and Spanish hated one another cordially, and the smallest trifle would bring about a conflict. The English occupied the Spanish port and could keep the Spanish fleet outside. If it were lost through a gale, the English would be held responsible, whereas, if admitted, there was almost sure to be trouble, and Hawkins knew from long experience that the Spaniards would play him some scurvy trick if they got the chance.

He therefore sent a messenger to the Spanish Admiral offering terms in the interests of peace. Among these was one that the island forming the Northern side of the harbour should be his and that no Spaniard should land there. Already he held the island and "had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue."

These terms were agreed to, and the fleets exchanged twelve hostages.

"At the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves." During the work each side expressed the greatest friendship towards the other. "Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse upon their parts. For the Viceroy and Governour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the

next thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us from all sides."

The island referred to was "a little yland of stones, not past three foote above water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte over any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more." This island was an invaluable protection from the frequent Northerly gales.

"Also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and unlesse the shippes bee safely moored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blew we had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore."

Thus the English had a great advantage in the event of a gale. They were safely moored, and their moorings could not be cut.

The Spaniards' treachery came rapidly to a head.

"The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shew it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that warded upon the lande, with great repaire of people." Hawkins at once drew the Spanish Admiral's attention to this and demanded what it meant. He was told that no harm was intended on the honour of the Viceroy.

But Admiral John Hawkins knew the Spaniards of old. "Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Jesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee unshipt againe, which were in that great hulke."

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This hulk lay right aboard the *Minion*, so close that she was practically alongside. Should her heavy crew attempt to board, the *Minion* might well be surprised and taken in the first attack.

“The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conveyed over to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy.”

Three only escaped from the fatal island, one of whom was Job Hortop. He was subsequently captured by the Spaniards and did not again set foot in England for twenty-three years.

“The *Minion* which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to avoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboard the *Jesus*, where was a cruell fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out: so the *Jesus* also got loose, and joyning with the *Minion*, the fight waxed hote on all sides: but they having woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us.”

This was the decisive factor in the action. The eleven guns lost on the island were a constant scourge to the English ships. But the Spaniards, though outnumbering their opponents by ten to one, did not escape unhurt.

“In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the *Jesus* was very sore spoyled: and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marveilous feare.”

The Story of Miles Philips

But fire-ships by day had not the terrors that they had by night. The English did not give way to the mad panic of the Armada off Calais, twenty-one years later.

“Howbeit the *Minion* which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without the consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the *Minion*: the most of our men that were in the *Jesus* shifted for themselves, and followed the *Minion* in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards.”

Then the Spaniards showed why they were the most hated race in Europe. They had taken some of the English and used them most evilly.

“Of our ships none escaped saving the *Minion* and the *Judith*: and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet alive, who by the mercifull providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.”

No wonder that the English, and no less the Dutch, preferred death to capture and fought with such ferocity against the Spaniard. The Inquisition had not yet reached the Indies, but it was an institution there long before Miles Philips saw England again.

The *Minion* and *Judith* escaped but they were in a bad plight. The latter “was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost us, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoove with the *Minion* two bow-shoots from the Spanish fleete where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke us with a North winde, in which we were

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greatly distressed, having but two cables and two ankers left; for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers."

The weather moderated in the morning and they got under way, leaking badly, crowded with men, and very short of victuals. They were at sea till the 8th of October, during which time "hunger constrained us to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eate."

They landed at the "bottome of the bay of Mexico" where they hoped to repair their leaking vessel, "which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarce able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land." They preferred to face the risks on shore than to remain at sea "where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the end to eate one another."

To this Admiral Hawkins willingly agreed. He fully realized how essential it was, in the interests of all, to reduce his complement, "and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered." Those who had been most anxious to be landed were now the keenest to stay on board. The Admiral, therefore, excepted those who were most required on board and, of the remainder, selected "such as he thought might be best spared." He promised either to come himself or to send for them in the following year. "Here againe it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart."

Of these unfortunates, 114 in number, Miles Philips was one.

They had difficulty at the beginning. There was a heavy

The Story of Miles Philips

sea running and they had to land in an open boat. The first boatload got ashore in safety, but the second was not so fortunate.

“Those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selves, and either to sink or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of Captaine Blands men.”

They found fresh water on shore and drank too much of it. Some nearly died, “for wee could scarce get life out of them for the space of two or three houres after.” Others were “cruelly swollen” by swallowing salt water and then eating of some strange fruit that they found on the beach. But the starving men had no care, “so that we were in a maner all of us both feeble, faint and weake.”

They spent the night where they landed, “not having any drie threed about us, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly).” In the morning they decided to follow along the sea-coast, “to seeke out some place of habitation.” At the outset they were much troubled by the high grass and reeds higher than their heads. On their left hand they had the sea and on their right thick woods, and while in this country they were attacked by the natives.

These people mistook them for Spaniards, “of whom they have bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy.” In their attack the natives “suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, unto

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whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rustie swords." Resistance was hopeless, so they threw themselves on the mercy of the natives, who were gentle compared with the Spaniards.

Eight of the marooned party had been killed in the first encounter. The rest were made to sit down while their captors took stock of them. Those who wore coloured clothes were then stripped to the skin, but the others they left alone. Before leaving, the natives pointed out the way to the nearest settlement, saying, "*Tampice, Christiano; Tampice, Christiano.*"

Shortly after this the party separated, Miles Philips, with one half under the command of Anthony Goddard, going towards Tampico, while the other half turned Northward. The latter party again divided later on and some twenty-five of them rejoined those going to Tampico.

The journey was deadly. "We travelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should travell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should have of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieve our selves. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos." "At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked."

The mosquitoes must have been awful on naked men.

The party travelled thus for ten or twelve days, sending men into the tree-tops to try and ascertain their whereabouts, but without success. At length they reached a great river "and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly encourage us, for thereby wee knew that

we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort."

An hour later they heard a cock crow, and rested by the river. "Of this river we dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before."

While resting by the river they saw some Spaniards on horseback on the other side. These thought that they were Indians and sent over one of their number in a canoe to inspect them from the river. About twenty then crossed in canoes, towing their horses by the bridles, "and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us."

The English could only yield, and the Spaniards saw that they were white men. More canoes were sent for and the party was taken across the river, four at a time. They were fed, for their captors "imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaves."—"This bread was very sweete and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savory and a delicate taste?"

They were then taken to the neighbouring town.

"When we were all come to the towne, the Governour there shewed himselfe very severe unto us, and threatned to hang us all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from us, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought us over, tooke away a good part also."

Truly they were fallen amongst thieves and were in evil case. This rascally Governor robbed them of the last few farthings that they possessed and then wantonly mishandled them. He was a typical Spanish Governor of the period.

"And having thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smothered: and before we were thus shut up into that little coat, they

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gave us some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governour, and most of them all answered, that wee should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale us of all our griefes : and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three days in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every houre to be bereaved of our lives."

It was not well to be an unarmed Englishman ashore in Mexico. The Spaniards were none too brave at sea, but they were wonderful when they had nothing to fear.

On the fourth day their captors came to them bringing a number of new halters, "at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgivenessse of our sinnes, we prepared our selves, making us ready to die."

But their time was not yet. They were bound two and two and marched ninety leagues to the City of Mexico, guarded by two Spaniards and a number of Indian archers. Of the former, one was an old man who did everything that he could for the comfort of his prisoners. The other was a youth, "who was a very cruell caitive, and he caried a javeline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his hands, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios."

They passed through the towns of Santa Maria, Mestitlan and Pachuca, in all of which they were well treated by the monks whose monasteries were there. At the first they ate so greedily of the hot food and fruit given them that Miles Philips writes, "Our greedy feeding caused us

to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt; for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first encounter."

In spite of such occasional relief the journey was terrible. At last they reached a town only fifteen miles from Mexico, "whereof we were all very joyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our lives: for seeing our selves thus caried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could wee never joy, nor be merrie till wee might perceive our selves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise."

And the English were not wont to pray for death without very good cause.

They proceeded towards Mexico City past the famous silver, life-sized figure of the Madonna, known as "Our Lady of Guadalupe," which was said to work miracles. Here they were met by crowds who came out to see them as a show. They were marched straight to the palace of the Viceroy, where they halted, having completed a march of about 270 miles.

At last they were well treated. They were amply fed, and the bystanders gave them clothes of which they stood so much in need; some also gave them money. After a wait of a couple of hours they were taken to a hospital, where they found some of their shipmates who had been captured in the fight at S. John de Ullua. "Wee should have gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for us. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes."

This seems scarcely surprising after what they had undergone.

They were all soon shifted into the Hospital of Our Lady, where they received every kindness. The local people constantly visited them and "brought us divers things to comfort us withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other

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things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, untill we were all whole and sound of body."

At the end of that time they were all sent to the city of Tescuco, eight leagues South-West of Mexico, "in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London." And now their sufferings began afresh.

"It was no small grieve unto us when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to bee used as slaves, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, and almost famished." They were fortunate in meeting there one Robert Sweeting, a man of English-Spanish extraction. He helped them and got them food, "And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished: and yet all the provision that wee had gotten that way was but slender."

"And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selves to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to live in that miserable state. And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selves, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selves to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come wee were espied by the Spaniards, and pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head justices, who threatned to hang us for breaking of the kings prison."

Finally they were sent to work in the Viceroy's garden, where they found Robert Barret, the master of the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and the hostages given by Sir John Hawkins at S. John de Ullua before he was attacked. They worked

in the garden for the next four months, their only trouble being the shortness of food, "having but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice us all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfe peny loafe."

At the end of this time Barret and the hostages were removed and the remainder were given to such Spanish gentlemen as desired them for slaves. The announcement was made by proclamation "which proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of us."

Englishmen as slaves were a novelty indeed! And now they had a real relief from the rigours that they had undergone. Their new masters were so pleased with them that they allotted to them duties which brought them into constant prominence. Hence the English were mostly ordered to wait upon their masters at table and to attend upon them when they rode abroad. After about a year of this life many of them were sent as overseers to their masters' mines, "in which mines many of us did profite and gaine greatly." They were paid 300 pezos a year "which is threescore pound sterling." Besides which, the native slaves would work for the English in their spare time as a return for the kindness shown to them. "Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this means besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres."

Captain Barret and the hostages were not so fortunate. When the Spanish plate fleet was ready "the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have bene delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Jesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition,

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and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert."

And soon the curse of Spain was to become the curse of the Indies.

Admiral John Hawkins' men had now passed six years as prisoners of the Spaniards and their miseries were to begin again.

"In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves: for never untill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and John de Bovilla his companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary."

These men settled in Mexico city "to the terror of the whole countrey." They began by attacking the English, "for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey."

The tale is revolting as are all true tales of the Inquisition, where fanaticism, greed and cruelty went hand in hand.

"We were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conveied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, and were never past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were

often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, and the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of us could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue."

Robert Sweeting acted as interpreter and assured the Inquisitors that the prisoners were all word perfect in the prayers. They were then questioned on subtler points of religion and acquitted themselves well. As always in the Inquisition, they were trapped, and threatened with torture, and bribed with promise of release, but nothing could be proved against them. They "besought the Inquisitors for God's sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, and against our wils, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, and therefore they would have mercy upon us."

But mercy—even justice—was unknown in the Inquisition.

The melancholy tale drags on.

"Yet all this would not serve; for stil from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the midst of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, and 14 or 15 daies before the day of their judgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie."

The Inquisitors took care to advertise their doings beforehand. They lived by fear, and the more people saw of the results of their work—not the work itself, that would be too much—the better. Could the public but see the effect of rack and cord and boot, their imaginations, falling far short of the reality, would keep them in terror-struck

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subjection to the Holy Office. Except for minor punishments such as the lash, only the last phase—the stake—was open to the public, and this was such that it merely stimulated the imagination as to what had gone before.

“Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language *S. Benitos*, which coats were made of yellow cotten and red crosses upon them, both before and behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of Judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to goe upon either side of every one of us: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went up by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for us to sit downe on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement.”

When all the prisoners were seated the Inquisitors and the Viceroy and justices came up another ladder to the scaffold, followed by about 300 friars.

“Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their severe and cruell judgement.”

“The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe

Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres."

And so the deadly day went on.

Sixty-one were condemned to monstrous sentences of the lash to be followed by long years chained to the galleys' slave-benches. Miles Philips himself with a few others were sentenced to serve in a monastery for five years and to wear the San Benito for the whole of that time. They escaped the lash.

Then came the final scene of the day.

"Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed."

This ended the orgy: the dusk lighted up by the fires of the *auto-da-fé*. Execution of the lighter sentences was reserved for the morrow.

"And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace." Here, to the number of sixty, they were stripped to the waist and mounted upon horseback to receive the allotted stripes. They "were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof." Criers went before them calling to all to see the judgment of the Holy Order. "And so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, and carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receive the rest of their martirdome."²

Thus the Inquisition in the Indies.

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Miles Philips and William Lowe were sent to serve the Black Friars, where the former was made an overseer of Indians engaged in building a new church. While there he learnt their language perfectly and found them to be "a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subjection and servitude."

Here the two served their sentences and were very well treated. Each had his room with good clean bedding and plenty of food. Philips speaks well of this portion of his captivity, for he found sympathizers among his masters. "Yea many of the Spaniards and Friars themselves do utterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort us the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that divelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth."

At the end of their sentences they were again brought before the Holy Office—this time to be released. Their *San Benitos* were stripped off them and were hung up in the chief church, inscribed with their names and the sentences passed upon them, to which was added "an obstinate heretike Lutheran reconciled," with what truth may be imagined. They were then allowed to move about the country in search of work, knowing that they were spied upon the whole time. Many married; some well. Lowe went to Spain where he settled, but Philips could never decide to settle in the country. He wanted to get home and to be a free man again. The fear of the Inquisition was upon him.

He needed money for his project, and could have earned it in the mines but "to returne and serve againe in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that divelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weave Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weaver, I bound my selfe

for three yeeres to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science."

He was wise. But in spite of his precautions he was many times brought before the familiars of the Holy Office and charged with wishing to escape. He denied this steadfastly, and was warned that he would be burnt as a relapsed heretic if he attempted to leave the city.

He remained the full time with the silk-weaver. And then came news to Mexico. Drake was in the South Seas! The name struck terror in the Spaniards. It was reported that he had landed in force at Acapulco; that he was coming to Mexico; that he would sack the city! No tale was too wild for credence. All the men were mustered; all the women sent away. Philips and another, Paul Horsewel, were hurried to the Viceroy "and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now governour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no."

All Mexico was in a ferment. Hundreds of men were sent to various ports. Philips went with a force to Acapulco to act as interpreter. They arrived a month after Drake had left. A month too late for Philips.

"But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, having also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily have taken us all."

They ran South towards Panama till they heard that Drake had left the coast, "and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore seasicke: All the while that I was at Sea, with them, I was a glad

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man, for I hoped that if we met with Master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have beene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I lived, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and grieve that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it."

They returned to Mexico via Tuatpec, Washaca, Tepiaca, Pueblo de los Angeles and Stapelapa. The officer reported to the Viceroy, who said, "surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessitie in some place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land." Clearly the Viceroy did not know Drake.

Philips was warned to stand by to travel at an hour's notice, but time went on and Drake did not appear. He had gone, and the Spaniards could rest in peace.

A month later Philips got leave to accompany some Spaniards to Mecameca. This place was only three days' journey from S. John de Ullua, and, while there, they had certain news that the yearly plate fleet of Spain was ready to sail. He had been well horsed for the journey, and decided to escape to the port and to join the fleet as a soldier. Thus he hoped to get into Spain and thence home to England. He spoke Spanish like a native, and could pass anywhere as a Spaniard. "And therefore secretly one evening late, the moone shining faire, I conveyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. John de Ullua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues."

He had been very lucky so far, but now his luck deserted him.

"And here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before

Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for : So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeve me, but urged stil upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveied away to prison."

To add to his troubles he was identified on his way to prison "by a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes." This blunderer tried to help Philips and told the Justices that he was an Englishman. They promptly charged the man as being an accomplice of the escaped son, and "he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, and one of Captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blackefriers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together." So Philips was discovered, and "was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off."

He had been betrayed in all innocence, but that could not help him.

"And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, and condemned to the gallies." Among them he found friends, especially one who had an accomplice outside the prison. This man persuaded his friend "to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serve and suffice any prisoner to file off his irons." Of these knives the man gave one to Philips, "which knife when I had it I was a joyfull man, and conveied the same into the foote of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg."

A few days after this Philips was again brought before the "head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne,

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where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60, towards Mexico."

He took his chance when he got it, and thereby probably saved himself from being burnt in the Inquisition. They had promised him this if he ever tried to escape.

"The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, and travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore."

A carpenter was set to repair the wheel while the wagoners baited at a nearby hostelry. In ascending the hill it was customary for the mules of several wagons to take up one and then to return for another. This left some wagons temporarily unattended and gave Philips his chance.

"As it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conveyed my selfe into the woods there adjoyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then covered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almightye God, I was freed from mine yrons all saving the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time."

The Story of Miles Philips

If ever a man deserved liberty, Miles Philips did. His courage and ingenuity were amazing.

He lay all night in the woods unable to find his way, and, at sunrise, laid his course due South. Thus he hoped to get far enough away to avoid all chance of meeting anyone who had known him in Mexico. He soon met some natives, for "travailing thus in my bootes and with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoon I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: rejoycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands."

The hunting party took him to their town which lay some eight leagues to the Southward, "where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely." Here Philips bought a horse with money that he kept quilted in his doublet. He then continued his journey South, and "within the space of 2. leagues I happened to overtake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie used against us by the Inquisitors, and truely he used me very courteously."

The two kept together for three days, during which time Philips told the Friar his story, and received much valuable help in return. They stayed at such native houses as they found, where they were always made welcome. The Friar collected money from the Indians to the value of 20 pezos, all of which he gave to Philips to help him on his journey.

"So I came to the citie of Guatimala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake." He then pushed on, ever Southward, putting as many leagues as possible between himself and the dreaded Mexico city, until he reached an unnamed native town nearly a thousand miles away.

"And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de

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Cavallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in travailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes journey : so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serve us so long time, and tooke with us things to kindle fire every night, because of the wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate : and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selves, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire."

On the twelfth day they reached Cavallos, 450 leagues from the capital, and here Philips discharged his guides. He went to the harbour where he found a ship laden with wine in which, after some haggling, he bought a passage to Spain for 60 pezos. "A glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serve me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and never stayed untill we came to Havana."

Here they found the whole Spanish fleet, and Philips was taken on as a soldier in the flagship. And while they were still in Havana four great Spanish transports arrived bringing troops and guns for defence against the English rovers. They also brought minute instructions to the Admiral of the homeward bound fleet "directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, advertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, and the yles aforesaid."

The fleet was of immense value. It consisted of "37. saile of ships, and in every one of them there was as good as 30. pipes of silver one with another, besides great store of gold." The Admiral, therefore, was most anxious to arrive safely without loss. He ordered that no one, on pain of death, should come on board without "his sword

and harquebush, with shot and powder," and he himself, whenever the weather was good enough, would inspect one ship or another to see that everything was in order.

But Philips did not think much of them.

"Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, saving only the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral: And againe over and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to have held out any long fight."

After sixteen years on land he had not forgotten his sea-craft. He still had a keen eye to a ship.

The fleet got home without mishap, but one on board knew Philips and told the master that he was an Englishman. This Philips fortunately overheard, so he was upon his guard. It was well that he was. When the crews were discharged at S. Lucar, the master stopped him and said: "Sirra, you must goe with me to Sivil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, and that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of those superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so they do account of us."

Philips pretended to know nothing "howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conveyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moored, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, and let the boate goe whither it would."

His luck held. He travelled all night and reached Seville by morning. There he found work as a taffeta weaver, and once at work, he never showed his face outside. "And being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knownen: and being thus at my worke,

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within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house."

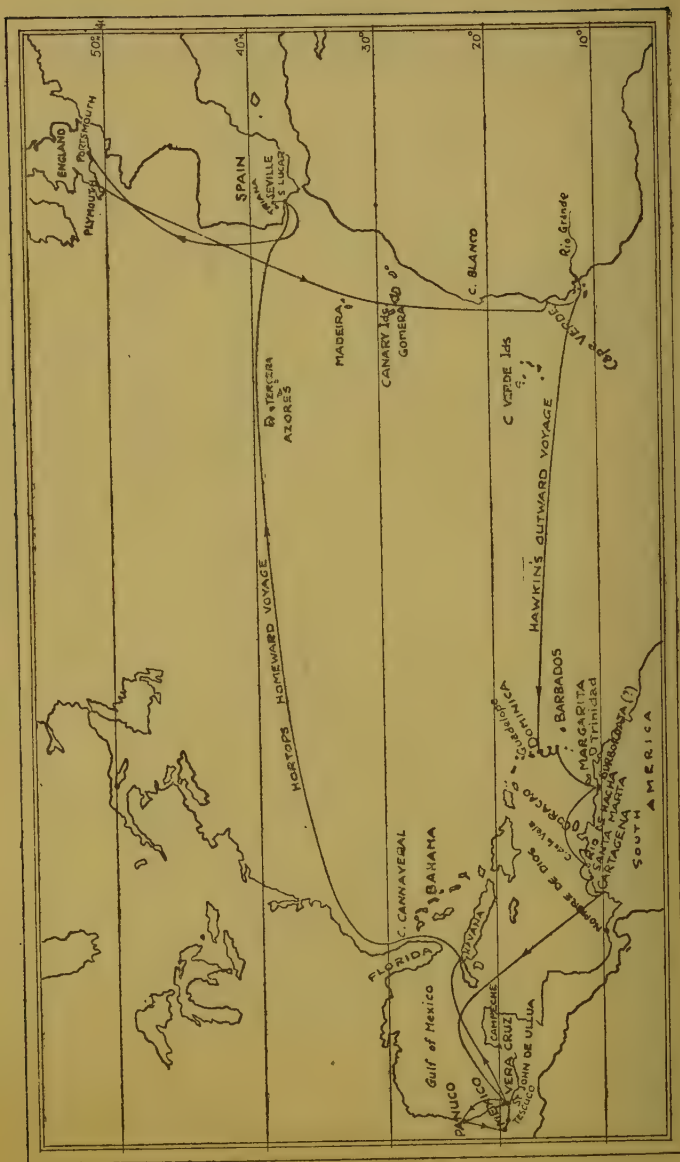
For months he dared not leave the house, but at last he bought a complete new outfit of clothes, after which he went about in greater safety. But even then he had to be most careful and went in constant fear of detection.

There were at S. Lucar some English ships loaded for home, and Philips boarded one of them. He saw the master and asked "that I might have passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, and prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leave of him, not without watry cheekes."

Not all the English had the courage of Hawkins' men.

But almost immediately he found a ship bound to Majorca, where he arrived soon after Christmas, and here he found two English ships. He boarded one from the West Country and met a master of a very different kidney. But this time Philips was more cautious and only said that he had been to Spain to learn the language. "And so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my native countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole."

THE TRAVAILES OF JOB HORTOP,
GUNNER, SET ON SHORE BY
MASTER JOHN HAWKINS, 1568



THE TRAILES OF JOB HORTOP, GUNNER, SET ASHORE.

THE TRAVAILES OF JOB HORTOP, GUNNER, SET
ON SHORE IN MEXICO BY MASTER JOHN
HAWKINS, 1568

JOB HORTOP was a gunner in the fleet in which Miles Philips served as a seaman. He was one of the unhappy band of 114 men who, with Philips, were landed in the Gulf of Mexico to relieve the overcrowded *Minion*.

He sailed "on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir John Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Majesties ship called the Jesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. having with him another ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion*, and foure ships of his owne, namely the *Angel*, the *Swallow*, the *Judith*, and the *William and John*."

They had very bad weather on their way South. "We had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men." The fleet reassembled at Teneriffe and proceeded to Gomera in the Canaries, where they found the *Swallow* and the *William and John*. From there they sailed to Cape Verde. "In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called capitaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal caravel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Capitaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master and capitaine of the Caravel." They continued to Cape Verde where they anchored and landed soldiers. Here they tooke some negroes "but not without damage to our selves. For our Generall, Capitaine Dudley, and 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a clove of garlike, whereby he was cured."

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They went on to Sierra Leone "where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will devoure men." They captured negroes to be sold as slaves when and where they could, and they seized another caravel on their way along the coast.

They put into the "river called Calousa."—"In this river in ye night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the river, were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the sea-horse." Hortop describes the hippopotamus in some detail but with little accuracy. He says that it is just like a horse "saving that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length." He tells us that these animals go ashore at night to steal and eat the negroes in their huts, but that the negroes watch for them and trap and kill them when encumbered in the woods. "And when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree overthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot goe over it: then the Negroes set upon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them."

The fleet passed along the coast, seizing ships at intervals, past an island where "trees grow with Oisters upon them." Here they first saw palm wine and palm oil and "plantanos." Of these last Hortop says, "when they be ripe they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be."

During their cruise they found a town besieged by 50,000 natives under three kings. They joined in and took the town, capturing 500 negroes, whom they carried off for slaves. And the three kings "drove 7000. Negroes into ye sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to save themselves."

With a full complement of slaves the fleet turned back "and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Judith, and the 2 pinnesses, and found there seven Portugal Carvels,

which made great fight with us. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and drove them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the carvels from the shore into the river. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his carvel, the Swallow, and the William and John came into the river, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seven thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man."

So they destroyed two native towns with small loss to themselves and fought and beat a Portuguese fleet before they started on the chief part of their voyage.

Captain Dudley died while crossing the Atlantic. He had been wounded by a poisoned arrow and made the ninth killed in this way. Out of ten wounded only Sir John Hawkins survived.

Dominica was the first land that they sighted, and here they took in water. "Which done, we sayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, and tooke in fresh victuals." During the night they went off in their boats to an island nearby, where they killed a large number of "fowles like unto Barnacles," and they brought off to the ships a boat-load of eggs. "Their egges be as bigge as Turkie's egges, and speckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate."

From there they went to "Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies," where they spent two months refitting and careening the ships and trading with the local inhabitants. While there Admiral Hawkins sent to the local bishop who lived in a "towne called Placencia," asking to be treated in a friendly manner. But the bishop fled at their approach, and on their way up the hill to Placencia "wee found a monstrous venomous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke."

"Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts,

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which by subtiltie devoure and destroy many men : they use the traded wayes, and wil shew themselves twise or thrise to the travellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly and at unawares they leape upon them and devoure them."

Their real troubles, however, began when they anchored in Rio de Hacha. "The Spaniards shot three pieces at us from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Governours house : we wayed anchor, and anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid five dayes in despite of the Spanyards and their shot." While lying there a Spanish carvel arrived, which they chased and drove ashore. In the face of 200 arquebus shot they then refloated her and took her out to an anchor. When Hawkins arrived he "anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon : wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance : we drove the Spaniards up into the countrey above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros."

In the river here they killed a "lagarto" or crocodile. "Seven of us went in the pinnesse up into the River, carying with us a dogge, unto whom with ropeyarne we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put under the dogs belly, the point of the hook comming over his back fast bound, as aforesaid : we put him over boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate : the Lagarto came and presently swallowed up the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him : he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water : we leapt on shore, and haled him on land : he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer : his taile long and full of knots as bigge as fawcon shotte : he hath foure legs, his feete have long nailes like unto a dragon : we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to have brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This

monster will cary away and devoure both man and horse."

The crocodile was an almost unknown animal, and this one was evidently a monster. They must have had a very hard tussle to land and kill such a brute, and the fact that it was so strange to them made the fight all the more exciting. Fishing for giant fish nowadays, when so much is known about them, exciting though it be, cannot compare with such sport as this.

They landed at Santa Marta on the Colombbian coast, where they traded and sold some of their slaves. There they saw their first rattle-snake "going towards his cave with a Conie in his mouth; his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seven foote long: upon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, every one as bigge as a great walnut."

They went on to Cartagena. Here they could not trade owing to the King of Spain's order, so "wee brought up the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne." Then they landed unopposed and found some casks of wine, which they took, leaving woollens and linens in payment. They were driven from the port by stress of weather and ran for S. John de Ullua in a gale of wind. Off Campeche they brought to a small Spanish ship in which was Augustin de Villa Nueva, "who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with us into the Port of S. John de Ullua. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed us."

He was one of those born to betray; one who was physically incapable of doing a straight thing.

They reached S. John de Ullua safely and anchored in the port. And here, a few days later, they fought the great battle that practically ended their voyage.

"When wee had mored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the llande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde." Always when dealing with the Spaniards they stood upon their guard.

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“ The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port.”

Every strange sail was a potential enemy. Strange ships met each other with their guns cleared away and their crews at quarters. Only when they had exchanged signals and knew each other did they “ replace gear.” The Spaniards treated every stranger in those waters as a trespasser to be driven off. The English knew from bitter experience the treachery of the Spaniard.

Admiral Hawkins replied to the Viceroy that “ they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, and I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place.”

The bloodhound and the bulldog were already showing their teeth. But the Spaniards yielded and swore by all their saints that the English terms should be respected.

“ Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spanyards to have done the like, delivered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwarde it was well knowne.” On the conclusion of these preliminaries it was announced by proclamation that anyone committing a breach of the peace should suffer death, and the Spanish fleet entered the port “ with great triumph on both sides.”

Miles Philips, who gives his account of the same

incidents, describes them somewhat differently. He says that twelve hostages were exchanged, but makes no mention of the social position of the Spaniards. And, which is more important, he states clearly that Admiral Hawkins was suspicious from the first, and that he insisted on retaining possession of the island on which he had already planted his ordnance. That this was agreed to was certainly the case, as after events showed. Hortop, however, makes no mention of it, though it proved to be the crux of the whole affair.

“The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and moored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards us, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboard the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes.”

This was the beginning. Miles Philips gives a similar account, but he does not mention the attempt on the Admiral's life, and his description of the fight, though similar in general outline, differs much in the details.

“And forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa nova sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynado which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his sleeve. Our General hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, and to be kept with two men.”

Hawkins was too generous. Such people are better out of the world.

“The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet,

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and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the *Minion*, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, God and Saint George, upon these traiterous villaines, and rescue the *Minion*, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners and souldiers leapt out of the *Jesus of Lubeck* into the *Minion*, and beat out the Spaniards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spaniards were spoyled, and blowen over boord with powder."

The fight was most fierce and fell. The *Jesus of Lubeck* was lying almost alongside the *Minion* and could pour in her men to repel boarders at a moment's notice. For all that, they had to drive 300 men overboard from one small ship—a very difficult task. But, as usual, at sea the English were invincible. In this case they were also lucky, for they fired the Spanish Vice-admiral with a shot. The fire spread and finally she blew up, killing almost all hands. But the battle was not finished with the rout of the boarders.

"Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, saving three, which by swimming got aboard the *Jesus of Lubeck*."

Miles Philips tells us that one of these three was Job Hortop himself, but this seems improbable. Had it been so, Hortop himself would certainly have mentioned it.

"They sunke the Generals ship called the *Angel*, and tooke the *Swallow*: the Spaniards Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fiftene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico."

Less than 250 men of the English ultimately escaped, and it is unlikely that, at the beginning of the fight, they numbered more than 500 in all. They had an overwhelming force against them, both ashore and afloat, and against

these odds they did many times their value of damage to their foes. But the English ships suffered severely.

“In this fight the *Jesus of Lubeck* had five shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder under the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the *Jesus of Lubeck*, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.”

The chief part of the damage to the English ships was done by the shore batteries which the Spaniards had captured. The Spanish ships were so badly knocked about that they could not have inflicted the injuries of which we read. But the shore batteries, placed on the island by the English, had been captured at the first onset, and were used by the Spaniards to scourge the English flank. And the English were unable to destroy them.

“The *Minion* was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall couragiously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a silver cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culverin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stooode by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage us, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines.”

It was such trifles as these that made our seamen great. Sir John Hawkins was noted for possessing a cool head in times of danger, and his example was not lost upon his crew. They trusted him implicitly, and what he ordered, they would carry out.

“Then Captaine Bland meaning to have turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore, wherefore he ankered, fired

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his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men and came aboard the *Jesus of Lubek* to our Generall, who said unto him, that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to have run away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboard, and fired his ship in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the *Minion*, for safegard of her masts to be brought under the *Jesus of Lubecks* lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the *Judith*, and to lay the *Minion* aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did."

The English were in a desperate plight when they took to firing their own ships. Even Hawkins and Drake, the two most famous Captains of the century, could not defeat the great force against them. The Spanish fleet alone would have had no chance but for the presence of the shore batteries. These cogg'd the dice against the English ships and brought about their defeat.

"At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, and two ankers under the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every houre to be driven with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water."

The island was their great protection from the frequent Northerly gales. They could lie under its lee in safety so long as their cables held. Should these part they were lost—stranded on a lee shore within an hour.

They suffered much from starvation and thirst while running for Panuco, and it was not till some ten days after the action that they sighted land. There was almost a mutiny on board over the lack of victuals, "and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, then to sterve on ship-board."

So the Admiral was glad to land half his company, for he knew that he could not bring home so many in the ships that he still had left to him. He gave them money and cloth, and promised to fetch or send for them all in the following year. Hortop and Philips were among those landed.

“ And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about us, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke.”

They soon met with Indians who stopped them and demanded their clothes. They handed over some but refused to be entirely stripped, “ whereupon John Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stoode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore he stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him.” The natives led them to fresh water which they badly needed, and then left them while they went to kill deer. While waiting for the return of the Indians some of the English strayed into the surrounding forests, where they were seized and stripped and sent back naked to their friends.

When the party started again it was divided into two parts, each seeking the way to the town of Panuco by different routes. They reunited later. On their way to Panuco they were again attacked by Indians who “ robbed us of all our clothes, and left us naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of us ”—“ and so left us: we passed the river into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe us from the Sunne, and gnats of that Countrey. We travelled there seven dayes, and seven nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiavos, a fruit like figs.”

At Panuco they were seized by the Spaniards, and from there they were sent to the City of Mexico, 90 leagues away. Hortop gives no details of his journey, nor of his treatment at the hands of the Spaniards. He describes

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various plants and beasts that he saw on the road, some of which can be identified to-day.

In Mexico he stayed for two years. He much disliked the earthquakes. "In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times: when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches."

In Mexico the prisoners were interrogated as to their religion and their answers were apparently satisfactory. [Two friars heard them repeat their prayers and, being satisfied, "they brought us much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died."

But the Viceroy was not so generous. He "practised to hang us, and caused a paire of new gallowes to be set up, to have executed us, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay until the ship of advise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with us."

The Viceroy removed Robert Barret from the remainder and imprisoned him in his palace. "The rest of us he sent to a towne seven leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaves, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for us, for they would not keepe us any longer, they said that we were devils and no men."

And they probably believed what they said. [The Spaniards, accustomed only to maltreating servile Indians, could not understand slaves who "beat" their masters. Certainly they were "devils" from the Spaniards' point of view.

With Barret two years later they were all sent to Spain in the fleet. "When we were shipped in the Port of S. John de Ullua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and us with him into his cabbin, and asked us if wee would fight against Englishmen if we met them at

the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able."

This answer pleased the General, who accepted their words and told them off to various stations throughout the ship. At Havana the ships from S. John de Ullua were joined by the great treasure fleet from Nombre de Dios, whence they all sailed together for Spain. On the passage home they were all nearly cast away by the Spanish pilot, for "turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to have cast away all the fleet upon the Cape called Cannaveral, which was prevented by me John Hortop, and our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke over boord, for I saw land under the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boatswaine, and bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the helm upon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seven fathome water: we shot off a piece, giving advice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did."

The English prisoners had saved the great Spanish treasure fleet, and one would have expected them to be released as a reward. But that was not the Spanish way. Gratitude was a thing unknown. The pilot just escaped being hanged at the yardarm, and that was all.

At last they neared the Azores. "When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with us, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selves from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed; none had any pinnesse asterne then but our ship, which gave great courage to our enterprise: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would have served us nine dayes, and provided our selves to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall privy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks,

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and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, and the rest of us to be set in the stocks by the legs."

The Spaniards held another conference. This time about hanging the English. The General was furious. "He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on every yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selves, for he swore by the king that he would hang us."

He had sworn this about the pilot and had been dissuaded. And so it was again. The other Admiral, Diego Flores de Valdes, saved them for he stoutly refused to agree, saying that "if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would have done the like himselfe." Few Spaniards were so generous. And so they were saved from the noose for that time. Had they known what was to come, some of them would sooner have been hanged.

The General kept them in the stocks for sixteen days, when they arrived at S. Lucar. From there they were sent as prisoners to the Contratation House in Seville where they remained for a year. They then broke prison, but were recaptured and again locked in the stocks. Shortly after this they were sent to the great prison in Seville, and from there to the "castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where wee continued one yeere."

What happened to them during that terrible year no man knows, but at the end of it "they brought us out in procession, every one of us having a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs: they brought us up on an high scaffold, that was set up in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Sivill: there they set us downe upon benches, every one in his degree, and against us on another scaffold sate all the Judges, and the Clergy on their benches."—"When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to us: after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went up into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and John Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Judges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be

burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt."

This account agrees substantially with that of Miles Philips, who describes a similar scene in Mexico. Robert Barret, at any rate, who had saved the Spanish fleet from shipwreck, deserved some better fate than to be burnt at the stake. But Spanish ingratitude and cruelty were notorious throughout the world, and nobody was surprised. Then came Hortop's turn.

"Then I Job Hortop, and John Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to have the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the everlasting prison remedillesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came."

Other sentences followed, after which they were all taken back to the Inquisition house and from there sent to the galleys. Hortop's account of the life of a galley-slave is full of interest, for few have come back to write their reminiscences.

"I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: every mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canvas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shaven every month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our several times expired."

The life of a galley-slave killed many. Only the strongest could survive long terms chained to the oar-bench. The Inquisition and the galleys were the chief disgraces of the period. But to the eternal credit of the nation, neither flourished on English soil.

After serving for two years beyond his sentence Hortop was sent to the "everlasting prison remedillesse," where he

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wore the San Benito for four years. At the end of that time he paid fifty duckats, borrowed from the kings treasurer, to have it removed, and he served the treasurer as a drudge for three years to repay the loan. At last he succeeded in escaping to the sea-coast where he happily found a Flemish "flie-boat" in which he left Spain for ever.

While at sea "we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, and me out of him, and brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590."

LOPEZ VAZ, HIS TALE, TAKEN FROM
HIS POCKET BY MY LORD CUM-
BERLAND'S MARINERS AT THE
RIVER PLATE IN THE YEERE 1586



LOPEZ VAZ, HIS TALE, TAKEN FROM HIS
POCKET BY MY LORD CUMBERLAND'S
MARINERS AT THE RIVER PLATE, IN THE
YEERE 1586

“ FRANCIS DRAKE an Englishman being on the sea, and having knowledge of the small strength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinnesses, and landed an hundreth and fifty men : and leaving one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place : and there his company discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellowes in the forte, who discharged and sounded in like maner.”

Nombre de Dios is close to Panama in the Caribbean Sea. It was one of the chief loading ports from which the treasure of the Indies and Peru was shipped to Spain. A great Spanish treasure fleet assembled there yearly, whence it proceeded to Havana. There it was joined by another fleet from Vera Cruz or S. John de Ullua, and together they crossed the Atlantic and discharged their cargoes at S. Lucar, the port of Seville.

Drake was on a treasure hunt, one of many that he carried out. But this time he was not so lucky as usual, for he found little. Nombre de Dios was not in itself a rich place. It was merely a dispatching centre, and the gold trains from Peru had not arrived. There was silver only.

“ This attempt put the townesmen in such extreme feare, that leaving their houses, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themselves what the matter should be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at so sudden an alarme.

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But the Spaniards being men for the most part of good discretion joynd foureteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to see who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they discovered the Englishmen, and perceiving that they were but a few, discharged their pieces at them."

It was no great battle. The Spaniards had bolted at the first alarm, and a few came back to snipe at the English from behind corners. But they brought off a lucky shot.

"And their fortune was such, that they slew the trumpetter, and shot the captaine (whose name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himselfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the rest of his men: but they in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and being not answered again, and hearing the calivers discharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses."

With Drake wounded and no treasure to be taken, there was no reason to remain, so the English retired in good order.

"Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried because of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and saw them fled, he and the rest of his company were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, they swamme and waded all to their Pinnesses, and departed forth of the harbour, so that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might have slaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this skirmish any more then one Spaniarde slaine, and of the Englishmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left with his trumpet in his hand."

If this account was true the Spaniards had missed a priceless opportunity. But one learns from other sources that the retreat was by no means a rout. Drake was a scourge to all the Spanish Main, and it is certain that, had the English really fled, their enemies would have been upon them in a moment. The chance of killing the famous Drake, already wounded, would have heartened even the cowardly,

treacherous Spaniards of Central America, could it have been done without risk. Even without the English account of the action, one can safely assume that the raiders retreated in good order and were far too dangerous to be attacked.

"But Captaine Drake being discontent with the repulse that the men of Nombre de Dios gave him," went into the Gulf of Darien where he fell in with some negroes who had fled from their masters. From them he learnt that "at the very same time many mules were comming from Panama to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and silver. Upon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred shot, and the said Negros, stayed in the way till the treasure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by those that drove the mules, who mistrusted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the silver he left behinde, because he could not carrie it over the mountaines."

This gold had been destined for the treasure fleet of Spain. The Spaniards of Nombre de Dios must have regretted their lost chance when the gold train never arrived.

After taking the gold train Drake went on to "the house of crosses called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes." Here he found no treasure, but much rich merchandise. This, however, was too bulky for him to take so, true to his policy of injuring the enemy by all possible means, "he fired the said house, with all the goods, which were judged to be worth above two hundred thousand ducats." He then went aboard again, "where fortune so favoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboard halfe an houre, but there came to the sea side above three hundred souldiers, which were sent of purpose to take him: but God suffered him to escape their hands, to be a farther plague unto the Spaniards."

Lopez Vaz then tells of the ill-fated venture of John Oxenham. "Also another Englishman named John Oxenham hearing what spoyle Captaine Drake had done upon that coast, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ship was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with seventie persons."

He also met the negroes, but was told that, since Drake's

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attack, the gold trains were guarded by soldiers. He then devised a bold scheme. "He determined with himselfe to doe that which never any man before durst undertake to doe. For being most resolute of his purpose, and not looking nor forecasting what danger might ensue of this bold enterprize, he landed his men in the same place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ship to shore, cut downe boughes of trees, and covered his ship with them, and hid up his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leaving not one man in his ship, he tooke two small peeces of ordinance, and his calievers, and good store of victuals, with all other necessaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros above twelve leagues up into the maine land, unto a river that runneth into the South Sea: and by this river in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinnesse, which was 45 foote long by the keele; which Pinnesse being finished, he went downe the river and passed into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arrived at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues distant from Panama."

Here he lay concealed for ten days without making a capture. At the end of that time he took a small ship coming up from Quito to Panama. He "found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread." But this was not enough, and he stayed in the Isle of Pearls. "Shortly after he tooke another barke from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of silver in barres, which being all aboard his pinnesse, he shaped his course toward the river from whence he came."

So long as he could keep secret his presence in the Isle of Pearls he was fairly safe, for no Englishman had yet crossed the Isthmus and the Spaniards would not be expecting anyone on the Pacific coast. But the moment the news was out, every Spaniard in the land would be armed and on the watch. And so it fell out. Oxenham went back to the river by which he had descended into the South Sea, taking with him his pinnace and his two prizes. At the mouth of the river he cast adrift the latter with their crews. But already the news was out. The moment that he had

left the Isle of Pearls the negro pearl fishers sent to the Governor of Panama warning him of the presence of the English.

“Whereupon the Governour within two dayes after sent out foure barkes and an hundred souldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which souldiers was called Juan de Ortega.” He went first to the Isle of Pearls to learn the course taken by the English, and “in pursuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Englishmen, which tolde him that they were gone up the river. But when he was come to the enterance of the river, he knew not which way to take, because the river ranne into the sea by three mouthes, and not all at one.” This was a serious check, but for once fortune favoured the Spaniards. “Therefore being determined with himselfe to passe up the greatest of the three, he saw comming downe with the streame many feathers of hens out of one of the lesser mouthes: which mouth he entered, and sayling foure dayes up the same, hee descryed the Englishmens pinnesse lying upon the sand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but sixe Englishmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, and having thoroughly ransacked the said pinnesse, they could finde nought in her, but victuals.”

The Spaniards wanted their gold even more than they wanted English prisoners, though it was not nearly so rare. Not finding it, they followed on the trail of the English hoping to get both. And in this they succeeded.

“The Spaniards seeing this, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leaving about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie shot up into the countrey, and halfe a league from the river they found a little house made with boughes, where the Englishmen had left all their treasure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Englishmen any further; but the English captaine with all his men, and above 200 Negros followed the Spaniards unto the rivers side, and set upon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the bushes did easily put the English to flight, and they tooke seven of them alive, and slewe eleven and

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five Negroes : so the Spaniards returned with the losse of two men and five or sixe hurt."

John Oxenham had only seventy men when he started from home ; he had lost some on the voyage ; those he had left were reduced by their labours and privations ; his negro allies were utterly untrustworthy. The Spanish were fresh, well-armed, and superior in numbers. It is little to their credit that they won so poor a victory.

But Oxenham had blundered. He should have been at sea in his ship again, with the treasure under hatches, long before the Spaniards could have caught him ; but he had had trouble with his crew and had wasted fifteen days in quarrelling. He had wished to avoid using negro porters, and had offered to pay his seamen a larger share of the treasure on their return home if they would make the several journeys needful to bring it all to the ship. They had agreed, but had wanted to be paid at once. At this lack of trust Oxenham had grown angry and had gone off to find the porters. While he was away doing this, the Spaniards overtook them.

On losing their gold, Oxenham and his crew settled their differences and made a bold bid to get it back. But they were too small a force to defeat the Spaniards and were routed in a counter-attack. Even so, Oxenham himself with some fifty men escaped into the mountains. But they were in a bad way. They were destitute of gold, food, and (worst of all) tools, all of which had been left together in the little house and had been carried off by the Spaniards.

From their prisoners the Spaniards learnt where the English ship lay hidden, and the Governor of Panama " sent a messenger overland to Nombre de Dios, to advertise the townesmen, where the Englishmens ship lay : whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ships and went into the bay of Dariene where the Englishmen had left their ship, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance ; so that the poore Englishmen were left in the mountaines very naked and destitute of all comfort : for the Spaniards had taken out of the foresayd house of boughes all their tooles and other necessities, so that they could by no meanes have any succour : whereas otherwise

they might have builded another pinnesse, and provided better for themselves to have returned for their owne cuntry."

But it was not safe to leave fifty men loose in the mountains, especially English seamen under a valiant and skilful captain, unarmed though they were. So the Viceroy of Peru "sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 shot to seeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take some one small barke or other that sayled to and againe in the North sea, whereby they might the better shift for themselves: but before they had finished their pretended worke, the Spanish souldiers set upon them, and tooke fiteene of them that were sicke: but the rest fled, whom the Spaniards pursued among the mountaines, and in the end the negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panama. Where the Justice asked the English captaine, whither he had the Queenes license, or the license of any other Prince or Lord? And he answered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Justice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panama, saving the Captaine himselfe, the Master, and the Pilot, and five boyes, which were carried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet living."

And so with the loss of the ship, the treasure, and the life of every man connected therewith, ended John Oxenham's fatal venture to the South Seas.

The negroes were to blame throughout for the failure of the venture, together with the quarrel between Oxenham and his crew. When trying to recover the gold seized by the Spaniards in the "little house made with boughes," the negroes fled at a critical moment in the attack, leaving their English allies to bear the brunt of the fight as best they could. But for this desertion the Spaniards would have been defeated. Later, when hiding in the mountains, they betrayed Oxenham himself and the miserable remnants of his crew to Don Diego de Frees.

But they were well repaid. The King of Spain sent a

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force of 300 men against them to punish them for having aided the English. "At the first comming of these three hundred souldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great justice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a season the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards so, that none of them could be taken." Then the Spaniards, who had lost many men through sickness owing to the unhealthy climate, made peace with the Negros and allotted reservations to them in which they allowed the survivors to live under Spanish control.

The French were constant visitors to what is now the coast of Colombia and Venezuela, but "although the Frenchmen have come strong, yet durst they never put foot on shore as the English did." But the King of Spain would stop all strangers, whether French or English, and for this purpose he stationed two galleys permanently on the coast. This checked the invaders for a time, but the English soon came again in stronger fleets. "So soon as this was knowen there used fewe English or French men of warre to come on the coast, untill this yeere 1586. when as the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong fleete of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as is well knowen unto all Christendome."

Lopez Vaz goes on to describe South America and the Spanish Main in some detail, working round to the East and South by way of the Magellan Passage and up the Pacific coast to the North.

Of the "new kingdome of Granada" he speaks with enthusiasm, but it was very difficult of access. To reach it, one had to go up the mighty river Magdalena for some two hundred leagues. "In this river are great abundance of Crocodiles, so huge and terrible to behold, that such as never sawe them before are very fearefull at the first sight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will streightway catch at them. In some places this river is very unhealthfull and full of noysome wormes." But Granada itself was healthy and full of riches. "This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne and other victuals, and hath many gold-mines,

and great quantitie of emeralds, whereof they send so many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth : but before these countreys were found, they were in great estimation."

In the West Indies the Spaniards were hated by the natives, as they were throughout the rest of the New World. " Boriquen, or Sant Juan de Puerto rico " was a Spanish possession, as were then so many of the other islands. " But the Spaniards have destroyed most of those Indians from off the earth, and in many of those Ilands there is nothing of any value."—" But Hispaniola is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is wasted away. It was at the Spaniards first coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bignesse in the whole world, yet now there are none left : for they were men of so hard a heart, that they murdered themselves rather then they would serve the Spaniards : for being men under so small civill government as they were, never was there any people knownen of so resolute and desperate mindes : for oftentimes a great number of them being together over night, they should be found all dead before the morning : such extreme hate did this brutish people beare against the Spaniards, that they chose rather to die the death, then to indure their insolencies."

But it was the Spaniards that were " brutish " and " of so hard a heart." Belonging to a civilized nation, they behaved like savages throughout all the Indies, and before long they introduced the Inquisition to put the finishing touch to their atrocities.

" It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did most grieve them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselves : which the Spaniard perceiving sayd unto them : seeing you will hang your selves rather then goe and worke, I likewise will hang my selfe and will beare you company, because I will make you worke in another world : but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with us into another world : so unwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this

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Iland there were none that escaped death, save onely these few, which came to passe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwise they would have hanged themselves also. Some of these people are yet living, but very few."

The English fought and beat the Spaniards, the Indians feared them; but both made common cause in their hatred of the oppressor.

Lopez Vaz tells of the mighty Amazon, then called the "Marannon" and "El Dorado" by the Spaniards. So many men and ships had been lost on the dangerous shoals at its mouth that he writes: "It is thought that God will not have this river to be knowen." Many had tried to explore the Amazon, but all had met with disaster either from shipwreck, or starvation, or from the savage tribes that inhabit its banks.

"So that none of all these came to any plaine discovery, till a few yeeres past a Captaine of the countrey of Navarre called Pedro de Orsua, who went from Peru almost the same way that Gonsalo Pizarro had before discovered." He had about 700 men with him "amongst whom were many Gentlemen and old souldiers of Peru, who caused divers mutinies and insurrections"—"which mutinous souldiers were the cause of their captaines death."

Orsua led his force across from the Andes to the head waters of the river, and here he "made fifteene Pinnesses with many Canoas, wherein he caried above two thousand Indians to helpe him, with many horses and other provision, as meaning to inhabite there." The place was too mountainous for land transport, besides which there were many small rivers to be crossed, all tributaries of the Amazon.

"So this captaine having all his things in good order went downe the river with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt." Here he decided to settle, and they spent all the winter building and fortifying a town. Orsua could not have found a worse place. In the moist heat of the plains, thousands of miles from the nearest civilized place, no white man could hope to live for long. His men soon began to give out. "Because it raineth much, and withall is

very hot, sicknes and want of victuals began to prevaile amongst them, wherupon the souldiers fell a murmuring among themselves. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfulest and richest countries of the world, they were more inclined to have their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour." After the high lands of Peru, no wonder that they felt the climate and were unable to work. Better men than the Spaniards would have murmured. The country seemed to be rich, with clear traces of gold, but the climate was too much for them, and they "would needes returne for Peru from whence they came."

This was the beginning. From then onwards the venture was doomed.

"In the company of these men there was a souldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie and lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man having bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here give over his old wont, but asked his fellow-souldiers, what they went to seeke for in those wild deserts whither they were brought: For (said he) if you seeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, flesh, and faire women also: so that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes." And so on, with much more of the like. He was the evil genius of the whole enterprise.

"By these perswasions he brought many souldiers to be of his minde, and conspired also with a young gentleman of Sivill called Don Fernando de Gusman (who was in love with a young woman which the Captaine Pedro de Orsua had, and therefore did the sooner agree unto the wicked intent of Agira) to murder the captaine. Who on a night being asleepe in his bed, the said conspirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there stabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they slew also all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry, saying, God save the king, God save the king: whereupon all the campe was in an uprore."

Agira made a long speech and, after some dispute, all agreed to his schemes. They made Fernando de Gusman

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their chief, and Agira their captain. "This done, because the people should the better hold their opinion, he did as great villany as ever any Spaniard committed." He built an altar and on it made each man renounce the King of Spain and swear allegiance to Don Fernando. Then they held a council to decide what they were to do next. They could not go back against the current, for it was too strong; they could not pass overland, for they lacked horses and the track was too bad. They were forced to go down stream, for there was no other way.

"Then saide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinnesses and souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leave behind them all the Indians which they had brought from Peru, with the women and the sicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, because he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all."

From the point of view of success Agira was undoubtedly right, but it was a brutal idea. The little force could not be burdened with women and sick if it was to make successfully the tremendous journey down the Amazon. But it is surprising that Don Fernando should object. He had already butchered his leader and one would have thought that a few more murders would have made small difference to him. Probably the lady who had been his captain's and was now his had something to do with his refusal. But his dissent gave Agira his opening.

"Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe governour himselfe, tooke unto him 30 of his owne countrey-men of his disposition, and on the sudden slew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had sworne to obey."—"Neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende."

He was again able to persuade the soldiers that he was acting in their interests, and they elected him to be their chief. Lopez Vaz, who was a Portuguese, refuses to accept Agira as a Spaniard and suggests that he was a Frenchman, "for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be so much crueltie as this man shewed." His argument is a poor one

when one remembers the Spanish Inquisition and the conquest of Peru, to say nothing of minor atrocities too numerous to mention.

“Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or persons of qualitie, and therefore he slew all such persons; and then departing onely with the common souldiers, he left behind him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures. If I should rehearse all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I should be over tedious unto you.” He started down the river with 400 men and, by the time he reached the Island of Margarita, he had reduced his following to 230. All the rest he had murdered or left on shore in places where their fates were sealed. “All which tyranny he used, because he ever stood in feare of his life: for had he seene at any time but two souldiers talking together, he would streight suspect that they were conspiring of his death, and therefore he used the practises abovesaide. And he never went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biscaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purposes.”

The party proceeded down the river, landing at intervals for food and rest. They saw many canoes, some containing gold. This they seized and loaded into Agira's boat. “Now also did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to say, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but these women fight to aide their husbands, and not by themselves alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of these women upon divers partes of this river, who seeing the Spaniardes fighting with their husbandes came in to succour them, and shewed themselves more valiant then their husbandes; for which cause it was named, The river of Amazones.”

The Spaniards' chief aim was to get clear of the fever swamps of the river, and they pushed on down the stream. They did not explore the land; they merely passed through it, “and yet they tooke good store of golde, putting it into one of their Pinnesses, where Lopez de Agira himselve was embarked, which Pinnesse at the mouth of the river was cast

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away, but he himselfe escaped, because he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde."

The company of mutineers turned North from the mouth of the Amazon, and coasted along until they reached the Island of Margarita to the West of Trinidad. The governor of the island had heard nothing of all that had passed, and received them with honour, giving them victuals and what else they needed. But again Agira proved the traitor. He fell upon the governor and all the unhappy inhabitants of the island and caught them by surprise. "But he putting the sayd Governour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two shippes that were there, and constrained likewise an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, besides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good store of victuales, and many horses also."

But his end was drawing near. He left the island and landed again on the mainland, saying that he would subdue all the Indies with the force he had. He expected that all the poor people and old soldiers scattered through the land would join him at once. "Howbeit he was foulely deceived: for before he had marched two dayes journey up into the land, the Governour of Nueva Granada came against him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other souldiers would have joyned themselves unto him, whereby his strength might have beene the more, was quite frustrate of his expectation: for even his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine."

Thus, deserted by even his own men, there could be only one end.

"Nowe seeing himselfe thus left destitute of his souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more unnaturall bloodie act then ever Nero the tyrant did, for he murdered his owne daughter being but sixteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cause why he killed her was, that she might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and these words he used unto her, so soone as he had given her her deaths wound: but before he could finish this cruell

act, the souldiers came upon him, and cut him in pieces, also his daughter died of her wound in that place."

"Thus have you heard the miserable ende of this bloodie caitife: in regard of whose treacherous and mischievous dealing the king would never since suffer this river to bee thoroughly discovered; so that the riches and treasure of the said river remaine unknowne even untill this present day."

Of the many tragic scenes enacted on the mighty Amazon, few can have exceeded this. Treason most foul, followed by temporary success, and culminating in tragic death.

Lopez Vaz continues his account, following along the coast of Brazil to the Southward until he reaches the River Plate. He mentions the voyage of the Duke of Cumberland's two ships in 1587, but does not tell us that they captured himself with his history in his pocket. That we get from other sources. He describes the coast towns, "Fernambuck," "Bayha," "Jenero," and many others, giving details of their size, strength, and exports. Most of these had been raided at one time or another by the English or French, and had little left to make them either profitable or interesting.

He speaks at length of the Plate, describing its first discovery by a Spaniard "called Solis, who passed up 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de le Plata, that is to say, The river of silver, because of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I have not heard of any silver that ever was found there." The next European to visit the Plate was the great explorer, Sebastian Cabot. He explored more than 150 leagues of the river, but found no gold or silver, and so built a fort and returned to Spain.

The first to found a colony on the Plate was one Don Pedro de Mendoza, who "furnished forth a great fleete of ships, wherein were shipped a thousand men, fortie mares, and twentie horses, with all other creatures to inhabite this river." Don Pedro landed all his settlers with their animals "at a place called Buenos Ayres, so named in regard of the freshnesse of the ayre, and the healthfulnesse of his men, during their abode there." But while lying off

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Buenos Ayres he lost eight of his ships in a storm, and so returned to Spain, leaving his settlers marooned on the shore.

Don Pedro died on the way home, so, like Raleigh's in Virginia, the colonists were not relieved in time to save them from semi-starvation. They lived by hunting and fishing, their numbers being gradually reduced, until the last 200 left alive took to their boats and proceeded up the river in search of their fellow men. They left "in the place called Buenos Ayres their mares and horses: but it is a wonder to see, that of thirty mares and seven horses which the Spaniards left there, the increase in fortie yeeres was so great, that the countrey is 20 leagues up full of horses."

At last the Spaniards reached some Indian villages, where they settled and intermarried with the natives. This place "the Spaniards called La Ascension, and it standeth on the North side of the river."

Twenty years later, when they were "waxing olde," they built a ship and sent her home to Spain. The King, who had never before heard of their existence, despatched "three ships, with a Bishop and certaine Priests, and Friars, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell, when this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the river, and travelled three hundred leagues beyond Ascension."

And now comes the tale of Magellan's great discovery and of the voyage in which he met his death.

The Portuguese were regular traders with the East Indies and China, where they had already founded settlements, and which they reached by way of the Cape of Good Hope. From there they brought "gold, precious stones, silkes, and other rich commodities" in such quantities that the Spaniards feared that "the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world." From this "there grew by this meanes great envie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes." Given the will to quarrel, an excuse could easily be found. They did not go to war, however, but "agreed immediatly to part the

whole world betweene them, in such wise as I for my part could never understand the certaintie thereof."

And now appears "a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes." He, "being offended with Don Emanuel his Sovereigne," deserted Portugal for Spain. He was an intrepid and skilful seaman, and a man of good social position. He approached the Spanish Council and persuaded them that he could find a shorter way to the Moluccas than round the Cape of Good Hope. The Council, "giving credite unto his wordes, sent him to sea with five ships and 400 men all very well appointed."

He sailed from S. Lucar and made the Brazilian coast, along which he worked to the Southward. "And notwithstanding many stormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length unto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the river of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Julian, and wintered there: and there also he hanged 5 men, and put on shore a Priest, because they would have made the company to stand against their captaine, and so to have returned backe againe."

Some thirty years later in Port St. Julian, Drake beheaded his friend Thomas Doughtie, for the same cause. At that time Magellan's gallows were still standing and Drake observed them on his visit.

To winter in Port St. Julian was in itself a great feat. Magellan was far to the South; completely cut off from supplies; his neighbours the savage Patagonians; only four degrees North of ice-bound Tierra del Fuego, peopled by the lowest savages in the world; and in the heart of the Westerly gales.

With the return of the Southern spring he put to sea again, and in five days he found the straits. "But before he entered the said streights there befell such a mutinie in one of his ships, that the same ship returned backe againe. And so himselfe with the other foure ships entering the streights, one of the said foure with all the men therein was cast away at the very enterance." In spite of this disaster and the constant mutinies among his crews, he went on,

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beating against the heavy Westerly gales, through uncharted waters, in terrible tide-rips and in biting cold, until his perseverance was rewarded and he came out from among the islands into the vast area of the South Pacific.

“Also here it is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in such wise, that in forty degrees to the Southward the colde is more sharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies shew the same: for it is as colde even in the streights of Magellan, as it is in sixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Howbeit the colde is not the cause why navigators frequent not the same, but the Westerly and Southerly windes, which blowe most furiously on that coast, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the streights, and so continue for the most part of the yeere. Also there runneth sometimes such a strong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ship withstand the force thereof. For which cause, and also for that there is no harbour, till you be passed 30 leagues into the said streights, most part of the ships that have gone thither have indured many troubles before they could come to the streights, and being come to the mouth thereof they have bene hindered by the current and winde, and so have beene put backe againe.”

Drake's experience when passing through the straits was the same.

Lopez Vaz tells us that the natives to the North of the straits were huge, though few in numbers. “Very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleven foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters.” He clearly refers to the Patagonians. The Tierra del Fuegians were cannibals and small, naked men. He also speaks with wonder of the snow-capped mountains to the North. These were the Southern end of the vast range of the Andes, which stretches like a back-bone of South America four thousand miles to the North, until it falls into the sea at Santa Marta on the Caribbean.

From the Western end of the straits Magellan stood out across the Pacific for two full months, steering about West-North-West. “Thus Magellan after he had entered the

South sea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of the Malucos, without touching at any land untill he came thither : and so seeking to lade his ships at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherously slaine." The Island of Matkan is reputed to be the scene of Magellan's death. He had therefore reached the Philippines to the North of the Moluccas and was in practically unknown land.

At the time of his death Magellan still had three ships left of the five with which he started out; but his crews were at a low ebb. Without his skilful guidance, too, they were at a loss as to how to complete their voyage. They were on the other side of the world, in dangerous and uncharted seas where none of them had ever sailed before.

"Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ships, because many of them were dead, partly with sicknes, and partly with the hardnesse of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their said ships, and so manned the other two : which two being laden with spices and other riches knew not what course they were best to take : howbeit at length it was determined, that one of these two ships should go for Nueva Espanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Esperanza, and so for Spaine."

They were right in the former decision, at least. Two well-manned ships were clearly far better than three only half manned. Whether it was wiser to divide their forces, each ship making for her home port alone, or to keep together for mutual protection and support, is a matter more open to question. Had they but known it, the route round the Cape was not more dangerous than the way back by the newly-found Straits of Magellan. By dividing they halved their strength. Together, were either wrecked, the other could render assistance; but alone, the loss of the ship meant the total destruction of her crew. Altogether, their decision to separate was probably unwise. Be that as it may, the two ships separated, one sailing for Mexico, and the other for the Cape. Of the former we hear no more; the latter reached Spain in triumph.

"The ship that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biscain named Juan

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Sebastian del Cano, to whom the king gave great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: *Primus omnium circunde disti me*; that is, thou art the first man that ever sayled about me."

But though Magellan had discovered the straits, few were able to use them. The weather and the dangerous navigation were too much for any but the finest seamen of the age, and thirty years went by before another passed the straits. Numbers tried, but it remained for Francis Drake to succeed. For all others the straits proved a death trap.

"The seeking of these Streights of Magellan is so dangerous, and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be perfourmed, insomuch that for the space of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; untill of late one Francis Drake an Englishman (of whom I have before spoken) seeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefite himselfe, because of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of Magellan, and to passe into the South sea."

In his story of the voyage, Lopez Vaz follows the account as given by Drake's pilot, Nuno de Sylva, from whom he heard it. This man was with Drake from the time of his capture off the Cape Verde Islands until he was landed at Guatulco on the Pacific coast, shortly before Drake refitted the *Pelican* and stood out across the Pacific on his voyage round the world.

As Drake proceeded up the Chilian coast, the news of his coming was sent by horsemen, warning all the ports. But so bad were the tracks through the mountains and along the desolate beaches that Drake was almost always ahead of the messengers. Time after time these arrived on worn-out, foundered horses, only to find a terror-stricken population and a looted town, and to see his topsails vanishing over the Northern horizon as he sailed, with ever-filling holds, towards the next unguarded port.

At Lima they had the news in time, but it was too vague to be acted upon. They only knew that something was

wrong at Callao, two leagues away, and the Viceroy gave orders to arm.

“ At last the newes came to Lima unto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy and all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselves in armes.”

By this time Drake had landed and gone again after gutting and casting adrift all the ships in the harbour and loosing a few arrows into the town. On examining these arrows the Spaniards found them to be English, and this gave them the first certain indication as to what the trouble really was.

“ And then they were al in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith provided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord captain Drake or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnesses, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might save the men. But it was a day and halfe before these things could be made ready, and in the end going foorth they found ye English ship still becalmed, and the calme was such, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing a fresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake set forward to Panama. The cause of the Spaniards retorne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out.”

Had the position been reversed, the ship would have been taken by a boat attack, but the Spaniards had no love for such methods. By the time that Drake was safely out of reach, the Viceroy was nearly ready.

“ Then the Viceroy caused sixe pieces of Ordinance to be made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortnesse of time: so with these pieces of Ordinance, and three shippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee sent after captain Drake.”

The three ships proceeded North and reached Cape San Francisco, in about 50 minutes North latitude, twenty days after Drake had been there and had captured the rich plate-

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ship *Cacafuego*. There they heard that he had not gone to Panama. "Whereupon the captaine of the three ships thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his course that way to seeke him."

And thereby completely missed him and probably saved himself from being sunk. Drake, as we know, never repassed the straits, but crossed the Pacific to the Moluccas and returned home round the Cape of Good Hope.

In his story of the voyage, which agrees substantially with that of Drake himself, Lopez Vaz gives the amazing total of the wealth looted from the Spaniards on this venture.

"Captaine Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundreth sixty sixe thousand pezos of silver, which is as much as eight hundred sixty sixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, every quintal being worth one thousand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand and two hundreth ducats. Besides this silver hee caried away a hundred thousand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand five hundreth Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thousand ducats: over and besides the treasure in the sayd ship" (the "*Cacafuego*") "which was uncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles, precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth."

"Surely this was a great plague of God justly inflicted upon us for our sinnes: for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene Spaine and England."

As the three ships failed to find Drake, the Viceroy sent out two others under the command of Pedro Sarmiento, then held to be the best Spanish navigator in Peru. He was ordered to guard the Straits of Magellan and to report whether they could be fortified. Sarmiento met with terrible weather on his voyage South and took nine months to reach his station. He made a survey and went to Spain, where he reported that the straits could be completely closed by forts. The King of Spain, acting on his advice, sent Don

Diego Flores de Valdez with twenty-three ships and 3,500 men to garrison the Narrows.

This fleet was extraordinarily ill-fated. Before they cleared the coast of Spain five ships were cast away and 800 men were drowned. Sixteen sail finally left Cadiz, fully fitted out and carrying Sarmiento who had been appointed as the new governor of the straits. In the course of the voyage ship after ship was lost, usually with all hands, through bad weather, and time after time the remainder failed to make the entrance to the straits. At last Sarmiento succeeded in landing near Cape Virgins with 400 men out of the 3,500 that had been sent. They at once proceeded to the Narrows and began to fortify them. They also began to build towns, but the project was doomed to failure from the start. The weather was too bad for human habitation, and Sarmiento finally abandoned the work and ran into warmer waters to the North. In so doing he marooned nearly all his men on shore. He had only one ship and it was said that he cut his cables. Be that as it may, he tried to come back with supplies, but on his way his ship was wrecked on the Brazilian coast, and "it is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no succour gone unto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or alive."

Having passed the straits, Lopez Vaz travels up the Pacific coast and tells of the conquest of Chile. This occurred, in fact, after the conquest of Peru, but in keeping to the order of his journey he ignores the historical sequence of events.

The conquest of Chile was carried out by the Spaniards with the same brutal disregard for human life and rights and in the same crazy lust for gold that distinguished their other adventures in the Indies. Chile was conquered from Peru, the first to attempt it being Pizarro's old friend and partner, Don Diego de Almagro, the elder.

"The Spaniards having conquered the kingdome of Peru (as I will hereafter shewe unto you) found in the sayd kingdome great store of golde; and asking the Indians from

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whence it came, they answered, from Chili. Upon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horsemen toward Chili, being constrained in his way to goe over part of the snowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himselfe and all his companie might die for colde."

The Spaniards got through, however, only losing some horses, but before they could accomplish anything, they heard rumours of an Indian rising in Peru and returned to quell it.

The conquests of Peru and Chile were tragic for the leaders. They destroyed the Indians and then quarrelled among themselves. In their insane greed for gold, though there was plenty for all, they murdered each other as they could. Dog ate dog until there were none left to kill.

"Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being slaine in the warres of Peru" (he was strangled by the orders of Pizarro) "another called Don Pedro de Baldivia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horses, easily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was subject to the kings of Peru."

The Southern half of Chile was not so easily seized, and the Spaniards had many hard fights before they got a foothold. "The weapons used by these people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they also make them jacks of seale-skinnes, and head-pieces: in times past the heads of their halbards and pikes were of brasse, but now they have gotten store of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Christians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour."

The Spaniards under Baldivia said that they were the children of God, and threatened all sorts of destruction to the natives. The latter asked them to prove their words and put up a very hard fight, but were at last defeated by the Spanish ordnance. The fire and destruction of the guns convinced them that what the Spaniards had said was true,

though judging from the behaviour of the victors, " children of the Devil " would have been more accurate.

" So the Spaniards having divided this province made the Indians serve their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enjoyed in such abundance, that hee which had least had 20000 pezos, but Captaine Baldivia had 300000 pezos by the yeere."

For a short time the Spaniards had peace, and built towns and forts, enslaved the Indians and collected gold. But the fame of the land went forth to Spain from which came emigrants in numbers, making the last state of that land far worse than the first. At last the Indians rebelled.

" Howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiving that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said fort for the Spaniards horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conveyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the fort, betooke themselves to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and stood in the gate of the sayd fort: from whence making a signe unto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and slewe all the Spaniards."

Captain Baldivia was at Concepcion when the news was brought. With only 200 horse he at once started off to attack the rebels. Having once conquered them, he could never afterwards believe that they were foes that should be taken seriously.

" And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slew most part of his company, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their horses: but Baldivia having his horse slaine under him was taken alive. Whom the Indians wished to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why we have taken you, is to give you gold ynough. And having made a great banquet for him, the last service of all was a cuppe full of melted gold,

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which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with gold, and so they killed him."

It was harsh treatment but in keeping with the times, and only in revenge for similar atrocities committed by the Spaniards. In fact, had they known it, they were but following the old Stannary Laws in the West of England a thousand years before when, for adulterating tin, the culprit was forced to swallow three spoonfuls of the molten metal.

The Spaniards mustered their forces and, with ten pieces of ordnance, attacked the rebels in force. They were badly defeated and lost all their guns. The natives cleared the land of their enemies and it took a big army from Peru to reconquer them. Again and again they rebelled, giving the Spaniards no peace and compelling them to keep a strong and expensive force always under arms in case of attack. Though there were towns in the province that should have been rich, "yet have they little ynough to maintaine themselves, by reason of the warres; for they spend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines."

Then follows the tale of the conquest of Peru.

"There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Pizarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. These men got a company unto them, and provided two Caravels to discover the coast of Peru: and having obtained licence of the governour of that place, Francisco Pizarro set foorth with the two foresayd caravels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama to send him victuals and other necessities."

It reads like the opening of a fairy story, but ends as one written rather for bad children than for good.

"Now Francisco Pizarro sayling along the coast met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble." He took, in fact, eight months to get from

Panama to the "Isla del Gallo," a distance that, had he known the way, should have been covered in about fifteen days. "Not knowing the right course hee ranne into every river and bay that hee saw along the coast: which was the chiefe cause that hee stayed so long on his voyage: also thirtie of his company dyed by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the coast."

He started with only 100 men and had lost a third almost before his venture had really begun. But he was not deterred. From the Isla del Gallo he sent one of his ships back to Panama for victuals and men, "which ship being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and passed up into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were never heard of untill this day. So that Francisco Pizarro was left upon the said Island onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ship there in which he might have returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men also were of his opinion."

Their courage and tenacity of purpose were marvellous and worthy of a better cause. This intrepid band stayed on the island for nine months awaiting reinforcements from Panama. They were short of food, having only what they could get from the mainland by night, twenty miles away; they were on an unknown coast; they had the means of escape ready to their hands. But still they held on, and at last they were relieved.

"But in the end his ship returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his voyage till he came to the first plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez." Pizarro went to conquer an empire with one ship and 53 men. At Tumbez, in the extreme North of Peru, he fell in with the natives and liked them well. "At this port of Tumbez he tooke 30000 pezos of gold in trucke of marchandize." But he was too short-handed to go on, and so returned to Panama to start afresh.

Having got so far, he thought it best to go to Spain and there get help from the King to prosecute his quest. This he did, and returned with a well-manned fleet in

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which sailed "foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men."

On his arrival at Panama, his partner Don Diego de Almagro joined him, and the two sailed in company to Peru. "They sailed first to the Island called Isla del Gallo; where Francisco Pizarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horsemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces."

This tiny force landed in Peru at a peculiarly propitious time. The country was torn by internal dissensions and did not unite against the invader as it should have done. "At what time the Spaniards first entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which strove who should have the kingdome, the one called Guascar, and the other Atabalipa." The former held the mountains, and the latter the sea coast and plains. Hence Atabalipa was the first to greet the Spaniards. They were brought to the prince at "a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the sea side." This was what is now known as Cajamarca.

"Whither being come, they found the Indian prince sitting in a chariot of gold, carried upon mens shoulders, and accompanied with above 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were sent from an Emperour (unto whom the Pope had given all that land) to convert them unto the Christian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because he gave to another that which was none of his owne."

This very proper answer should have been enough for honest men, who could have had all the treasure that they wanted in return for honest trade. But, as usual, that treachery which was a byword among the nations was conspicuous in the Spaniards' dealings with the King. They had neither orders nor wish to convert; only to rob and enslave. They had begun with a lie; they continued with

barbarities unspeakable until their names were execrated throughout the civilized world.

“Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two field peeces, and their calivers, set upon the Indians, crying *Sant iago*.” The natives were astounded at the noise and flame of the guns, believing that their enemies had brought the lightning upon them. “Whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for golde and silver.”

But for all that, they kept Atabalipa a close prisoner. During his captivity his brother Guascar was killed and all the mountains were subdued. “Upon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would give them all that they should demaund. This communication having continued a whole day, at length a souldier named Soto sayd unto Atabalipa: what wilt thou give us to set thee free? The prince answered, I will give whatsoever you will demand. Whereunto the souldier replied, thou shalt give us this house full of gold and silver thus high, lifting up his sword, and making a stroke upon the wall. And Atabalipa sayde, that if they would grant him respite to send into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marveiling, gave him three moneths time, but he had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe, a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I know above twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was above tenne millions of gold and silver.”

But even that could not satisfy the Spaniards' greed, and they committed one of the crimes of history.

“Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become lords of the whole land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous judge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to dye by the course of nature, but brought them to evill and shamefull ends.”

As happened some years later, after the conquest of

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Chile, many Spaniards flocked into Peru hoping to find fortunes lying by the wayside. They were disappointed.

The King of Spain made Pizarro a marquis and appointed him to be the governor of half the country, while Diego de Almagro governed the other half.

“ But these two consorts in parting of a land belonging unto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves : and at length Pizarro having slaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this prosperitie of Pizarro continued not long : for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee revenged of his fathers death, slew Pizarro, for which acte he lost his head. In this controversie betweene these two partners were slaine also two brothers of Pizarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine and there dyed in prison ; but the fourth called Gonsalvo Pizarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the countrey in peace for two yeeres : howbeit being in the ende overcome hee lost his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an evill death that were causes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa.”

For once knaves got what they deserved.

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